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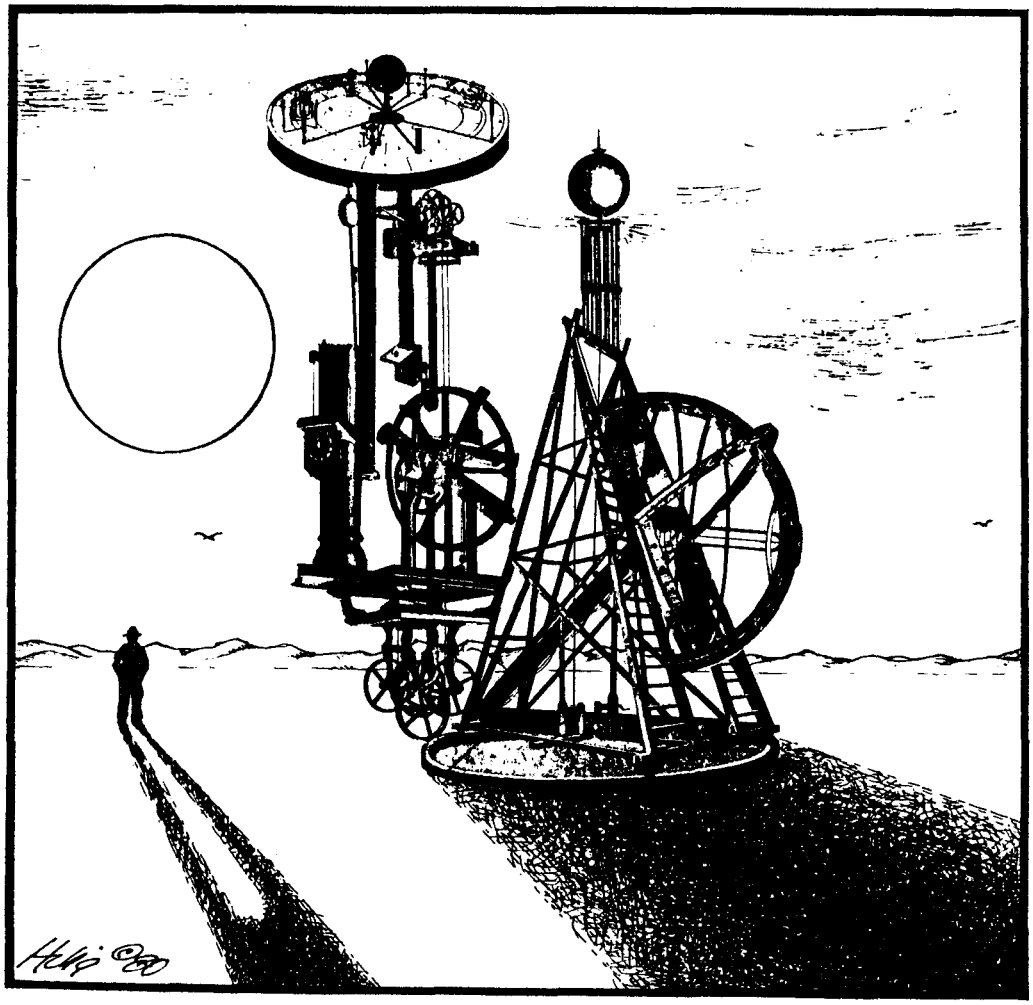
The Progressive Review

MAY-JUNE 1985



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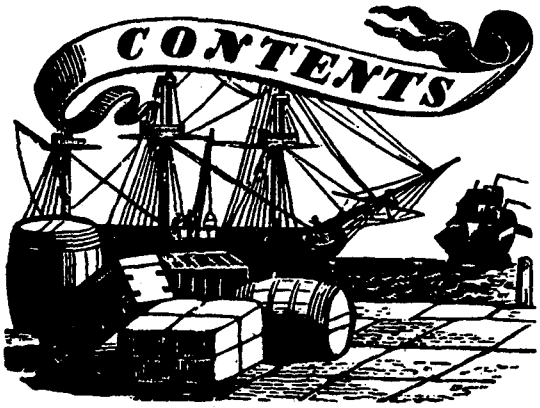

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The Neo-Know-Nothings: The Reagan administration is planning to heavily reduce the collection of data about labor, health, housing, economics and trade, and the environment. Administration officials say this will save billion of dollars. Besides, it will make it harder to contradict Ronald Reagan.

Death penalty crops up again: Legislation establishing a federal death penalty has again been introduced in the Senate and the House. Floor action in the Senate could come as early as June or July. The House bill, however, will have to get through a subcommittee chaired by Representative Conyers, a strong opponent of capital punishment.

Banks floating high: A bill to restrict the excesses in bank delays on clearing checks will be introduced in Congress later this year. Some states, including California, New York and Massachusetts, already have such legislation. New York requires that a local check be cashed in two days and an out-of-state check in six. Mike Caudell-Feagan of US PIRG reports that state surveys have found that many banks put holds of from five to 21 days on checks. Meanwhile, the banks are earning interest on the money. One of the more egregious examples of the bank float scam is that some banks even put holds on cashiers' checks, which are meant to be treated as cash.

US PIRG says that 99.3% of all checks clear without difficulty. Most "bad" checks clear the second time they are deposited. Less than one in one thousand ever go uncollected by banks.

Presbyterians nix gays: A Presbyterian church commission has ruled that "unrepentent" gays may not be ordained in the denomination. The commission said a New York church acted incorrectly when it extended that right to gays.

Women and the poor: A female-headed family is now four and a half times more likely to live in poverty than a family headed by a man or married couple. This from a Ford Foundation report that also notes that while the number of poor families in the US has increased, the number of families

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receiving welfare benefits has not gone up since 1972. Meanwhile, a White House committee says the number of children under 10 living in female-headed families will go up 48% in this decade.

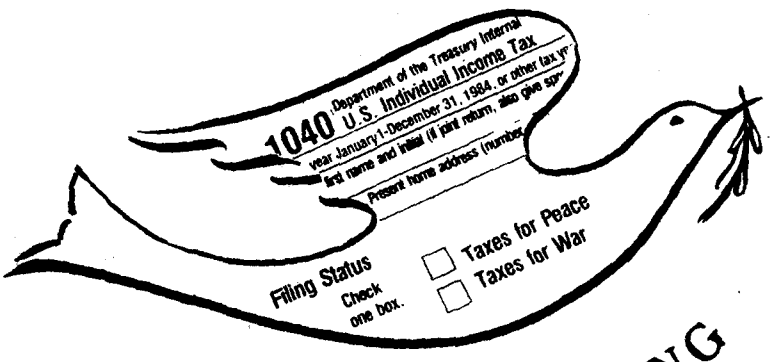
The four-day solution to crime: Does capital punishment deter crime? Yes, but not for very long. California sociologist David Phillips of the University of California San Diego says murder rates drop by about ten percent after highly publicized executions, but go right back up after four days. What's more, he says, a well-publicized life prison sentence has exactly the same effect.

A home-buyer's IRA: Republican representative Robert Lagmarsino has proposed legislation that would permit tax-deferred deposits of up to $20,000 in an account to be used towards the purchase of a first home.

The one-percent solution to the deficit: Republican representative Richard Schulz says a three-year one percent surtax on annual gross incomes of most individuals and corporations would net the government $145 billion. He's proposed a bill to do this.

Consumer heroes: The Consumer Federation of America has named 73 senators and representatives as "heroes." Top-ranked senators were: Kennedy with a 92% rating; and Bingaman, Lautenberg, Leahy, Metzenbaum, Pell, and Tsongas, all with 83%.

The following representatives scored 100%:



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Farm debt: The Associated Press reports that an unreleased Agriculture Department report says that 93,000 mid-sized farms are either technically bankrupt or nearly so. That's up 45% over the previous year.

Miniprecincts: Richmond, Va., is experimenting with a downtown miniprecint for its police. The $50,000 fibreglass structure is used as a daytime headquarters for foot patrols.

US arms sales up: RECON reports that continued high arm sales to the Middle East, and greatly increased weapon sales to NATO Pact countries have pushed US arms sales to record highs. Ronald Reagan sold $57 billion worth of arms abroad during his first term compared with Jimmy Carter's $38 billion.

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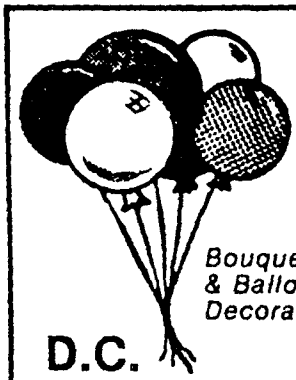

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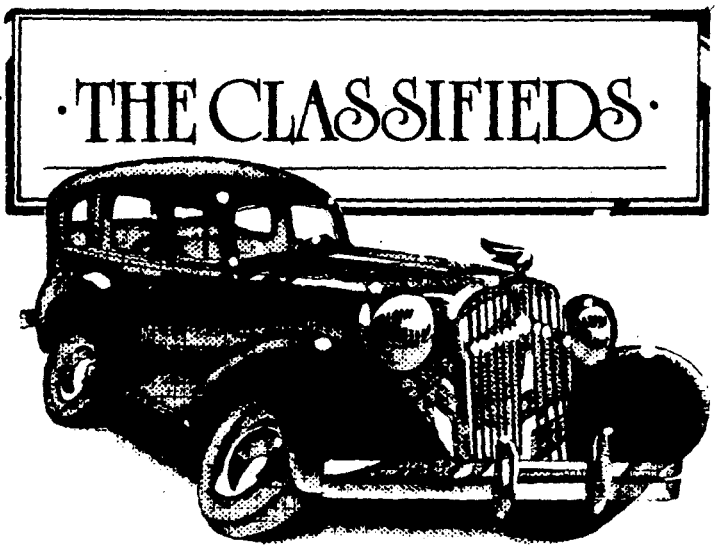
What sort of silos: It's too late now but a group called No MX out of Scottsbluff, Nebraska, came up with some interesting comparisons of what you buy if you didn't buy just one MX missile. The MX's cost about $60 million apiece. That would pay for 100 L-3 Allis Chalmers gleaners, 200 Allis Chalmers 7045 tractors, 15,000 acres of irrigated land at $2300 an acre and 20,000 feeder calves. You'd still have $1.3 million left over for pocket money.

ADA growing: Americans for Democratic Action reports that its active membership list grew by more than 1200 in the first two months of this year.

Communications Center to lose funding: Georgetown University Law Center has decided to end its financial support of the Citizens Communications Center this spring. The organization has been active in litigation and hearings involving minority ownership of broadcast outlets, discrimination in broadcast employment and children's television issues.

Republicans against the MX: The following GOP senators voted against the MX: Andrews, Durenberger, Grassley, Hatfield, Kassebaum, Pressler, Stafford, and Weicker.



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Selective enforcement of draft laws okayed: The Supreme Court has ruled that it is all right for the federal government to prosecute only open resisters to the draft laws. The 7-2 decision declared that this did not amount to selective prosecution.

◈

Free spending by PACs approved: The Supreme Court has ruled that the $1000 limitation on the amount that PACs could contribute to presidential campaigns was a violation of the First Amendment. Individuals are still limited in the amount they can contribute to PACs and the restrictions on private contributions for candidates who accept public funding still stand. In a dissent, Justice White said the First Amendment "protects the right to speak, not the right to spend, and limitations on the amount of money that can be spent are not the same as restrictions on speaking." He also said, "By striking down one portion of an integrated and comprehensive statute, the court has once again transformed a coherent regulatory scheme into a nonsensical, loophole-ridden patchwork. *** The result is that the old system remains essentially intact, but that much more money is being spent. In an overzealous protection of attenuated First Amendment values, the court has once

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PRINCETON GOVERNMENT STUDENT INTERNS need inexpensive accomodations mid-June to end August. Send listings — location, price, space available, whom to contact to Minnie Reed, Director, Career Services, Clio Hall, Princeton, NJ 08544

ARTIST ROGER HENRY through a new art form has discovered the physical existence of the human soul. Because this sounds impossible to be true, this major discovery is being blocked. 185 West End Ave., Apt 28C, NYC NY 10023.

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again managed to assure us the worst of both worlds."

Public employee rights: The Supreme Court, in a 8-1 decision, has ruled that public employees have the right to be told of charges against them and given a chance to respond before being fired.

Black mayors increase: The number of black mayors in this country has more than doubled since 1975 according to the Joint Center for Political Studies. There were a record 31 new black mayors elected last year for a total of 286.

Small favors department: The Supreme Court has ruled that police officers may not shoot unarmed suspects fleeing from nonviolent crimes.

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Careful study

The FDA has asked for an extension to continue studying whether widely-used food and drug dyes are a threat to public health. This is the 27th straight extension the FDA has requested on this decision, which was first scheduled to be made public January 12th, 1963.

Rise of renewable energy

Renewable energy sources contributed more new energy from 1978–1983 than coal and nuclear power combined and currently provide twice as much primary energy as nuclear power, according to a report just released by the Center for Renewable Resources.

"Despite the recent oil glut, which has taken energy problems out of the public eye, renewable energy sources quietly have become one of the most promising growth industries in America," says Christopher Flavin, author of the new report, *Renewable Energy at the Crossroads.*

The study says renewable energy sources provided 9.4% of the energy used in the United States in 1983, oil provided 40.8%, coal 21.6%, natural gas 23.8%, and nuclear power 4.3%. Since 1978 savings from improved energy efficiency have, in effect, supplied 23% of U.S. energy. The report says that the various renewable energy technologies can easily provide a similar amount of energy—20% of U.S. needs—by the year 2000.

Tina Hobson, the Center's Executive Director, says that the report's data show that the Department of Energy has underestimated renewable energy's current contribution and future potential. *Renewable Energy at the Crossroads* can be obtained from the Center for Renewable Resources, 1001 Conn. Ave NW, (510), DC 20036, for $5.

Blue-collar women losing jobs

Female blue-collar workers are finding themselves off the payrolls in record numbers these days.

The Wall Street Journal reports the shrinking of "smokestack industries" in the U.S. has sent thousands of women back into minimum wage jobs in the service industry. The steel industry, which had 14,500 women in production and maintenance jobs five years ago, now has just 3,000. More than half of 4,000 female underground coal miners have lost their jobs during the same period, says *The Journal,* and the same fate has befallen two-thirds of women doing oil-production and refinery work.

Even industries undergoing a seeming recovery are reportedly short on women once again, thanks partly to women's lack of seniority. *The Journal* notes that female membership in the United Auto Workers

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has dropped by one-third in the past four years. The paper also cites a study showing 70 percent of the blue-collar women laid off by an Indiana plant wound up going into sales and service jobs—jobs that have brought a one-third cut in their monthly earnings.

Gay marriages

A San Francisco Episcopal minister has vowed to curtail weddings at his church until homosexual and lesbian relationships are recognized by the church hierarchy.

Reverend Robert Cromey says he will perform no weddings for the public at Trinity Episcopal Church as long as the hierarchy considers same-sex relationships "a problem to be dealt with." Cromey will now perform weddings only for confirmed Episcopalians—regardless of their sexual orientation.

Bishop William Swing, who presides over the San Francisco Bay area diocese, has accused Cromey of "grandstanding," and says "marriage is understood as an institution . . . with a male and female and to redefine it is no longer talking about marriage."

'Blacks Against Nukes'

Brenda Hayes-Johnson and Gregory Johnson founded Blacks Against Nukes (BAN) in the summer of 1981. They were concerned "that the nuclear issue had not been addressed from a Black perspective and that established peace groups did not make an effort to go into the Black community." The Johnsons had been told that Black people are not concerned about nuclear proliferation because they are too busy trying to get food on the table. Disturbed by such generalities, and moved by a spiritual calling, the Johnsons formed BAN.

The organizers' goal is to educate the Black community on nuclear issues and alternative energy sources, while making genuine "peace of mind" more possible within the local community. They want to see Blacks take an active part in what is happening in their lives, "make the connections," and think for themselves.

The Johnsons lecture at schools, college campuses, churches and social groups. Their initial method for distribution of BAN's bimonthly newsletter was "door to door." They believe support has come simply by word of mouth, enabling BAN to acquire a membership of almost 400 anti-nuclear activists nationally and internationally. They have established relationships with the Green Party in Germany and with peace organizations in Japan. As a means of educating high school students, BAN sponsors an annual essay contest. This year's topic will be "Hiroshima—what it means to me."

Having unsuccessfully approached various peace groups in Washington, D.C., BAN's organizers have backed off from working relationships because of the treatment they have received. They have been asked to act as "go betweens" for other peace groups and the Black community without being invited to be a part of the planning for such outreach. The attitude is "what can you do for us, not how can we help you," said Brenda Hayes-Johnson. "We tried that route and it didn't work," she continued.

Financial support for BAN's work comes from donations and small grants. Although there are no membership requirements, contributions are welcome. Write or call BAN, 3728 New Hampshire Ave., Suite 202, Washington, D.C. 20010, (202) 882-7155.

—Dolores Jackson Richards

National Network for Direct Action

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Buy New Zealand

This time you can *buy* products to show your political beliefs. The U.S. government can threaten anti-nuclear countries with a boycott, but the U.S. feminist movement is striking back with a "girlcott."

President Reagan recently proposed trade reprisals against New Zealand after that country refused to let U.S. nuclear weapons carriers re-fuel in New Zealand ports. As a counter-move against Reagan's statements, feminists have begun a "girlcott," a campaign to buy more products that come from New Zealand.

New Zealand, points out the Sisterhood is Global Institute, is not only the first nation to refuse a major power such access, but was also the first country in the world to grant women voting rights. New Zealand's policies on nuclear arms came to a head last summer when parliament member Marilyn Waring brought down her party and the government by voting with the opposition against the ships' refueling privileges.

"Girlcott" organizers urge people to buy wool and food products from the highly-agricultural country. They add that a proposed increase in import taxes on New Zealand products would punish U.S. consumers, who are mostly women.

ACLU Biennial: National conference on important civil liberties issues. June 13-18, Boulder, Colo.

ACTIONS

May 18-24 — "Chile Basta! Week," nationwide decentralized civil disobedience and other activities opposing fascism in Chile. Network for Direct Action, Box 271, Nyack, NY 10960; (914) 358-4601

May 24 — "International Women's Day of Nuclear Disarmament." In New England, the New Hampshire Women's Peace Network is sponsoring a civil disobedience action at Sanders Associates in Nashua, the state's largest Pentagon contractor. NHWPN, Box 311, Concord, NH 03301

May 24-27 — "Peace Pentecost Weekend Gathering" for reflection, training and worship culminating in a large-scale act of Christian civil disobedience. Sojourners Peace Ministry, Box 29272, Washington, DC 20017

May 25-June 1 — "Second Annual National Pilgrimage to Reverse the Nuclear Arms Race," a nine-day 100-mile march from Philadelphia to Washington. National Pilgrimage Office, Usdan Bldg. #133, Brandeis University, Waltham, MA 02254; (617) 647-2179

The "girlcott" is active in 23 major cities, including New York, Los Angeles, San Francisco, Chicago, Houston, Miami, Detroit, Minneapolis, Atlanta, and Washington.

Items covered by the girlcott include New Zealand lamb, kiwi fruit, butter, strawberries, wool and sheepskins. Contact for this action the Sisterhood is Global Institute at 212-532-8330. You can write them c/o the Women's Action Alliance, 370 Lexington Avenue, NYC NY 10017. Also involved in this effort is the Riverside Church Disarmament Program, 490 Riverside Drive, NYC NY 10017 (212-222-5900 ext. 238).

US tops in teen sex miscues

American teenagers get pregnant, give birth and have abortions more than teenagers in any other industrialized nation.

A new study released by the Alan Guttmacher Institute found that the pregnancy rate for Americans 15 to 19 years old is 96 per thousand—this compares with 45 per thousand in England and Wales, 43 in France, 35 in Sweden, and *14* per thousand in the Netherlands.

Why is the U.S. more than twice as high in teenage pregnancies? The study concludes that countries with low teen pregnancy rates had more liberal attitudes toward sex, easy access to contraception for young people without parental notification, and comprehensive sex education programs.

In the U.S., said Jacqueline Darroch Forest, research director of the institute, "teenagers . . . are less likely to use contraception and among those who do use it, they are less likely to use the pill, which is considered the most effective method."

Among other findings, the study indicated that easy access to abortion services does *not* lead teenages to have more abortions. Here again, the U.S. abortion rate is double that of other nations. The study also found that the availability of welfare and maternity benefits is not a motive for parenthood.

Lobbyists form lobby

Washington lobbyists are worried about their public image. So they've formed their own lobby—The American League of Lobbyists. All told, 37-hundred organizations have lobbyists in Washington, and they make up the capital's third-largest industry, after the federal government and tourism. Says lobbyists' lobbyist Robert McGlotten, "We're real people—we don't have tails, and we don't have horns."

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Gays in school

A deadlocked U.S. Supreme Court let stand in a 4 to 4 ruling an Oklahoma court decision that Oklahoma cannot constitutionally dismiss public school teachers for "advocating" or "encouraging" homosexuality. A tie vote affirms a lower court ruling but doesn't serve as precedent.

Mother of Agent Orange

A TV movie is in the works about a black woman described by some as the "Mother of Agent Orange."

From 1977 to 1983, Veterans Administration staffer Maude DeVictor gathered case histories of families exposed to "Agent Orange,' the herbicide used in the Vietnam war. She presented appeals to the VA on behalf of veterans' families and helped publicize "Agent Orange" concerns in the media.

An attorney who filed the original lawsuit against Agent Orange makers says DeVictor was "the one who made the connection, one of the first to rally the vets, the one who helped restore their dignity and show the illnesses weren't just in their heads."

DeVictor claims that as her work on the Agent Orange issue continued, the national VA office ordered her Chicago supervisors to limit reporters' access to her. And in 1983, the VA fired DeVictor, claiming she spent too much time on union business for the American Federation of Government Employees. The VA also cited her for "conduct unbecoming a federal employee," but denied that her dismissal was linked to the Agent Orange controversy.

DeVictor says she would do it all over again despite her dismissal. Says DeVictor, "I wasn't hired to be the bosses' friend. I was hired to serve this country."

Senate committee eases abortion rule

The Senate Foreign Relations Committee voted to reverse a Reagan administration ban on U.S. funding for organizations that include abortion in their overseas population control programs. The amendment, proposed by Kansas Senator Nancy Kassebaum, passed 9 to 7. Another amendment also passed —restricting financing for population control programs in countries that permit "officially or in practice, infanticide or coerced abortion."

(Please turn to page 41)

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Carol Schwartz raised a rare voice against the libertine approach to city budgets as she cast a vote against this year's version. What she had to say is worth noting:

"During the eleven years of council budgets, operating costs of our government have increased by more than 250%. *** This year we are asked to approve an increase in the operating budget of $168.5 million.

DC NEWS AND COMMENT
Sam Smith

During a year in which inflation is projected between three and four percent, the increase now before us is at eight percent. We are told that there are no tax increases in this budget. That is what we are told, but try telling that to those who see skyrocketing property taxes due to creative tax assessments. *** Or tell that story to renters who will see landlords raise rents with these sharp assessment increases as justification.

"*** Surely in the ten years of home rule we have found some areas of government which could be made more economical. Economies of 4.7%, which would have limited increases to the rate of inflation and would have saved our taxpayers $100 million, are out there — in fact, they are out there many times over. But in order to be found, they must first be sought.

"*** We might look at ourselves for a beginning. In fourteen years, council staff has increased from thirty employees to over 150 employees including the eleven new positions included today. How are we using this staff? Apparently we are using them to find more ways in which to spend the taxpayers hard earned dollars.

"*** District government costs are two and a half times greater then they were ten years ago; District government services are not two and one half times better than ten years ago.

"*** Some new programs, such as foster care, senior citizen aid, job training, and expanded home ownership programs are worthy and needed, but surely the money for such imaginative new programs could be imaginatively funded by cutting waste from programs that have not worked.

"*** The budget before us is one in which no serious attempt has been made to cut outrageous excesses of government."

It is no accident that Carol Schwartz is the council's lone Republican. The sad fact is that local Democrats, like their national colleagues, have failed to accept their fiduciary responsibiities to the taxpayer. This should not be a matter of symbolic cuts, another political game, appeasement of this group or other. It should be an underlying attitude, presumption and philosophy. At its root there should be nothing partisan about spending money wisely. One of the premises of this journal from the start has been that there is nothing mutually exclusive about cutting waste and evaluating efficiency on the one hand and progressive policies and ideals on the other. But within the Democratic Party this has been a minority view. And this is one good reason Ronald Reagan is president and it takes a GOP member of the council to tell it like it is.

•

Everytime riders start complaining about their treatment by cab drivers and drivers start complaining about fares (both justifiable complaints), the issue of taxi meters comes up. Meter advocates forget two basic points: on a per capita basis taxi cabs provide more jobs here than anywhere else in this country and cabs are

(Please turn to page 41)

As we went to press, the city council had just passed on first reading, legislation seriously weakening rent control, proving, as John Wilson pointed out that we have the best city government that money can buy. In the report card section you can find out who the villains and the heroes of this story are.

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DC REPORT CARD

Here's our monthly scorecard on the city council and the mayor. Generally we give two points plus or minus for a vote or mayoral action and one point plus or minus for a public position taken without doing anything or for a bill introduced. On especially important bills we give four points plus or minus. Listed below are the 1985 grades plus the cumulative grades since we began the report card in 1984. A grade of C or score of 0 means the politician did right about half the time. A politician with a + score votes right more often than not; while one with a - score votes wrong more often than not. Here are this month's issues:

NAME	1985 SCORE	CUMUL SCORE	1985 GRADE	CUMUL GRADE
CLARKE	11	7	A	C
WILSON	11	19	A	B
ROLARK	10	4	A	C
MASON	10	25	A	B
SMITH	7	1	B	C
SHACKLETON	2	-8	C	C
WINTER	0	-6	C	C
SPAULDING	-2	-22	C	D
JARVIS	-2	-27	C	D
RAY	-7	-19	D	D
SCHWARTZ	-7	-7	D	D
KANE	-12	-6	F	C
CRAWFORD	-12	-32	F	F
BARRY	-4	-34	D	F
COUNCIL AV	-2	-10		

• Throughout the rent control debate (we went to press shortly after the first reading), modifications weakening the existing measure were approved by a 7 to 6 margin. The following members voted to weaken rent control and lose four points each: Winter, Spaulding, Jarvis, Ray, Schwartz, Kane, Crawford. The following members opposed the weakening amendments and gain four points: Rolark, Smith, Clarke, Mason, Wilson, Shackleton. Incidentally, in the April issue we incorrectly listed Schwartz as a supporter of rent control extension — based on an erroneous newspaper article, so the point given her at that time is deleted.

• Marion Barry loses two points for renewing the war on pedestrians. The city provides few enough protections and conveniences to the pedestrian as it is, without the added aggravation of random harrassment. A sane city would have a law that would give the pedestrian the right of way when in a crosswalk and would enforce that law. The premise of DC is quite different. The pedestrian must give way to the car in most situations.

• John Wilson gets a point for opposing the mayor's plan for the construction of an Chinese arch in Chinatown over the opposition of many in that community. The mayor loses one.

• The council approved the addition of $100,000 to the budget for the Statehood Commission and the Statehood Compact Comission. Members Clarke, Jarvis, Mason, Smith, Spaulding, Wilson and Winter each get two points for supporting this and members Crawford, Kane, Schwartz and Shackleton lose two points for voting against it.

• Carol Schwartz gets two points for her vote against the budget for the reasons outlined in City Desk this month. The rest of the council loses two points for not being tough enough on the budget.

• John Ray loses a point for legislation that symbolizes the council's tendency to over-regulate. Ray's legislation would regulate sperm banks and surrogate parenting and prohibit the sale of sperm.

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CHUCK STONE

A 'Nightline' TV Debate

In any discussion or news story, there is no "other side" to the Holocaust.

Nor do I think there is "another side" to South Africa's tyranny.

A people's right to their humanity cannot be debated. Nobody but a moral basket case would attempt to present "two sides" of a debate on the Holocaust.

But "Nightline" suffered no reservations in televising a series of "debates" from South Africa in 1985.

Given that double standard, this is how "Nightline" might have televised a debate on slavery in 1859.

Ted Koppel: President Buchanan, thank you for taking time out of your busy schedule to be with us on "Nightline."

Buchanan: Ted, I admire your work. You don't rabble-rouse like some of these writers like Harriett Beecher Stowe.

Koppel (brow furrowing): John Brown is in jail, awaiting execution for treason after storming an arsenal in Harper's Ferry as part of a plan to help free the slaves. Despite his failure, doesn't that indicate an imperative for change?

Buchanan: Ted, as I said in my inaugural address two years ago, if the agitation against slavery continues, "it may eventually endanger the personal safety of a large portion of our countrymen where the institution exists."

Koppel: Does that mean you advocate the continuation of slavery?

Buchanan: Absolutely! As my predecessor, President Franklin Pierce, declared in his inaugural address: "Involuntary servitude, as it exists in different states of the Confederacy, is recognized by the Constitution."

Koppel: Thank you, Mr. President. Joining us in our St. Louis studios is Dred Scott who filed a suit for his freedom in 1857 under the Fugitive Slave Act. He lost. Mr. Scott, you heard the president. Both he and the Supreme Court hold that slavery is constitutional. Are you prepared to accept both decisions?

Scott: No, not any more than your ancestors accepted King George III's tyranny over them. I think the operative words were, "We hold these truths to be self-evident, that all men are created equal . . ."

Koppel: Following that logic, are you suggesting that slaves might resort to violence to gain their freedom?

Scott: I'm suggesting that unless the courts recognize my right to be free, there will be more Nat Turners, more John Browns, even a civil war.

Koppel: Some Americans would say such threats of violence are counterproductive. Others have questioned the Negro's readiness for equality. Two eminent scientists, Dr. Eliphalet Nott of New Orleans and Dr. J. Van Evrie of New York, have published extensive research documenting the lack of intellectual abilities of all Negro people.

Scott: Mr. Koppel, my humanity no more depends on such metaphysical nonsense than your intelligence is defined by this electronic tube.

Koppel: Thank you, Mr. Scott. We now go to a prison in Charlestown, Va., where John Brown is awaiting execution.

Mr. Brown, you led a small band of 22 men in that assault. Did you really think you could end slavery by attacking a military-protected Harper's Ferry?

Brown: Mr. Koppel, as I said in court, the design on my part was to free the slaves.

Koppel: But even Frederick Douglass with whom you met at Chambersburg, Pa., said it was not only dangerous, but provocative. Doesn't it seem contradictory that no major Negro leader joined a white man's effort to free the slaves?

Brown: From the beginning, Mr. Koppel, I knew the second phase of the plan needed a national Negro leader. The fact that I was unsuccessful in convincing any of my close Negro friends to join me in no way mitigates the purgatory of slavery or the need to destroy it. As I said in court, "I admit that I have violated the laws of men, but whether it be right to obey God or men, judge ye."

Koppel: Thank you, Mr. Brown. Joining us now in our studios from Jackson, Miss., is former Mississippi Sen. Jefferson Davis, the man many say would be the president of the Confederacy were the South to secede from the Union.

Davis (chuckling): Mr. Koppel, I think that's an unlikely contingency. I consistently have been a staunch "co-operationist."

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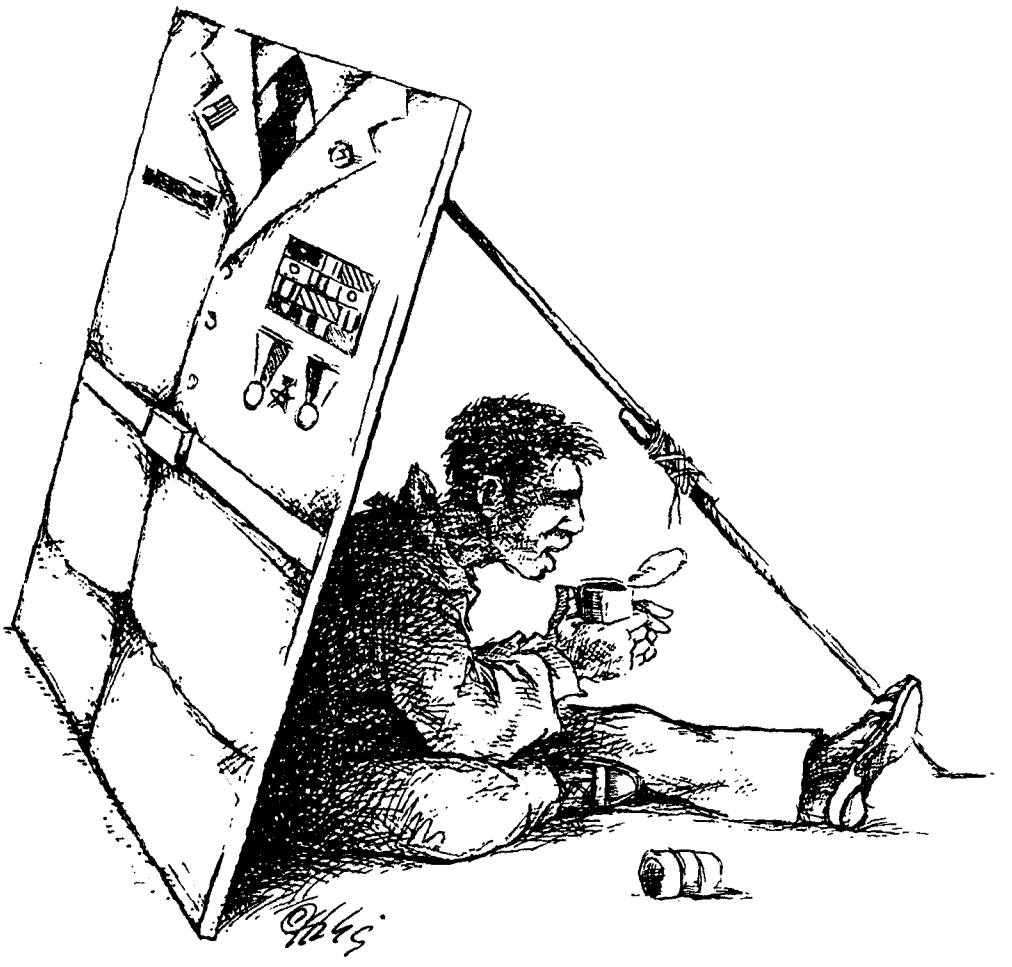

THE HOMELESS VETS

John Ross

When he hits his shelter cot at 10 PM lights-out, Jessie Mays is bone-weary. Sleep is precious to this ex-Marine, what with the North Vietnamese always attacking just as they did at Khe Sanh in 1967, with shells blasting their positions every five seconds.

Jessie Mays was a corps medic, 1st Battalion, 26th Marines. He picked up the pieces of his buddies before he finally took a grenade in the leg and hip just before completing his tour in August, '67. The wound laid him up in Japan for eight months before he came home.

Jessie Mays has been coming home ever since. Now home is the Episcopal Sanctuary.

"I never really went home," Mays says. "My father is a minister and a farming man back in Illinois. He was in the civil rights movement, and now he's a county supervisor. But after I came back from Nam I just couldn't face him. I wasn't even 20 yet and really angry.

"I mean, once a girl in Berkeley asked me how many babies I killed over there. I was a medic, man. I saved lives. They had to drag me off that girl."

Mays' internal "horror movies" had him stalking the streets packing a gun, but somehow in the mid-1970s, Jessie got married, went to college, opened a tee-shirt shop. There were two daughters and material comfort. The nightmares still came, but now he chased them with drugs and booze.

By 1980, things were falling apart—first the business, then the family, then valued friends. "I was acting so crazy, no one could understand," he says. "I just let everything go."

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Finally, there was a bad car wreck and Jessie Mays, his jaws wired and his bones broken, made it into a Veterans Administration hospital program for Vietnam combat vets ravaged by Post Traumatic Stress Syndrome. A year later, he was back in gear, a computer operator at Stanford University.

On July 4, 1982, Jessie was finally awarded his Purple Heart, and for 13 months, he managed to keep it together. Then he was arrested for a misdemeanor he won't talk about, but says he didn't commit. While he was in jail, all his stuff was stolen from his hotel room, and by the time he hit the streets, Jessie Mays was furious. The cops caught up with him again inside the offices of the California Public Utilities Commission, smashing typewriters against the walls.

"I just was mad. I wanted to get a government office."

He was still mad when police put him back on the streets. "I had no place, no stuff or money. I walked around skid row looking for someone to hit. I slept out under the freeway in a refrigerator box. I got cold."

(Please turn to page 43)

EARLY RETURNS

Only 42 shopping months til the 1988 election

Notes

Senator Hart has proposed that all youths be required to perform some kind of service to the nation. His bill would give $3 million to a commission to study matter.

Senators Gore and Nunn, sometimes mentioned as presidential timber, both voted for the MX. The rest of the would-bes voted against it.

Ted Kennedy says

I've always said I'd like to be president someday, though my sense from my own contacts with people around the country is that they're still too exhausted from the last election to be focusing on the next one.

I will maintain my political committee and contacts, and hopefully that is something that could be readily activated should any decision come.

*

As Democrats, we must understand that there is a difference between being a party that cares about labor and being a labor party. There is a difference between being a party that cares about women and being the women's party. And we can and we must be a party that cares about minorities without becoming a minority party. We are citizens first and constituencies second.

*

We cannot and should not depend on higher tax revenues to roll in and redeem every costly program. Rather, those of us who care about domestic progress must do more with less.

*

We must acknowledge that some social welfare programs just continued people living in desperate situations. We have to be more innovative. That has been important to our party.

We have to realign our position, but that doesn't mean we have to abandon our present policies.

We have to be more concerned with having less [money] and dealing with it more effectively.

Jimmy Carter says

In my judgment, the Democrats basically should take the position I took in 1976: a combination of approaches, some of which could be considered quite conservative and some quite liberal.

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CHARLES McDOWELL

My Expense Account

Dear Boss,

In my monthly expense account recently sent to you, you will find the following items for reimbursement:

- Indoor tennis-court fees.
- Travel to be a judge at a chili cook-off, in Florida.
- Fishing weekend at Ocean City, Md.
- Political contributions.
- Boarding dog at kennel while covering a visit of the governor of Virginia to Washington.

All of these items are in the category of "overhead" above and beyond the regular compensation and routine expense-reimbursement of my assignment to write a column from Washington. If these items strike you as somewhat alien to your experience, please try to understand how things are in Washington.

If I were not assigned to Washington, I would never have wandered into a congressional hearing some weeks ago and heard defense contractors testifying on the kinds of expense-account items that they have been submitting to the Pentagon for years under their contracts to produce the weapons that defend America.

The items in my most recent expense account are remarkably similar to some submitted to the Pentagon by a leading manufacturer of submarines, tanks, jet planes and missiles. Covering Washington can be an enlightening experience.

In adapting the customs of the Pentagon's contractors to my employment by the newspaper, I have used one basic, patriotic principle as my guide: surely the Department of Defense would not allow the taxpayers to be billed for literally millions of dollars in expenses that could not be justified as improving the security of the United States. Thus did I justify the expenses submitted to you as improving the quality of the column from Washington.

So imagine my surprise when Secretary of Defense Caspar Weinberger announced that he was suspending payments to the General Dynamics Corp. because it had been charging improper expenses to the government for years. Some of the expenses of the company's executives were the very models I had used.

Michael Burch, a Pentagon spokesman, said: "We found that General Dynamics' testimony was nauseating. Some of the claims made were preposterous and completely out of line . . . did in no way benefit national security."

It turns out there is to be a crackdown on the expense accounts of that company, of the Boeing Co. and others. It turns out that I have perhaps been misled and that my most recent expense account probably should be amended. I propose to do exactly what the defense companies are doing. I will express regret for any misunderstanding. I will withdraw certain items. I will reduce certain claims. But I will insist that portions of my claims are legitimate, or sufficiently close to justify a prolonged negotiation.

Boarding my dog Jesse at a kennel during one of Gov. Charles Robb's visits to Washington seems at least 50 percent legitimate. My wife was away and Jesse would have been alone. The governor could have made news far into the night. I could have kept Jesse in her pen in the yard, but Jesse would have been nervous and that would have made me nervous if I had had to stay out late covering the news. How can we save the country if the key people, the journalists, are nervous?

I withdraw the political contributions because I don't want to say who got them.

As for the fishing weekend, it rained and I could not write an intended column on fishing. But as a result I had a lot of time to contemplate the state of the world and prepare myself for future columns. I will settle for 30 percent compensation.

I will stand by the indoor tennis court fees as a bargaining chip. I play once a week and my fellow players are Washington correspondents. We talk about news all the time. Besides, Al Haig, the former secretary of state, plays on the next court. He doesn't talk to us, but people assume he does and that gives us prestige in the profession.

I will withdraw my chili cook-off if General Dynamics will withdraw its chili cook-off.

In fairness for America,
Charley

Richmond Times Dispatch

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WHY SO FEW WOMEN IN CONGRESS?

From a study by Marjorie Fribourg

We are concerned that women did not improve their position on Capitol Hill in 1984. They lost 2 of their 22 House seats in the primaries and after the election came out even. There are still only 22 women in the House. The same dismal lack of progress prevails in the Senate. There were 2 women senators before the election. There are 2 now. It behooves us to ask what is happening?

Let's grant that a candidate for national office needs a self-confident personality and a compulsion to campaign, benefits from having built a "good record" in local elective office, counts on the endorsement of a segment of the population, and cannot succeed without the ability to raise funds for the contest.

*

For a long time it was believed that women had trouble securing national elective office because they were not as good fund raisers as men. The theory, even if untrue, can discourage women from running and discourages party leaders and others from sponsoring women candidates. Consequently, the Women's Campaign Research Fund ran a study to evaluate women's fund raising potential. The average female incumbent raised 88% as much money as the average male incumbent. The average female challenger raised 99% as much as the average male challenger, and on open seats she did better than he did. When all categories were combined, women office-seekers raised 93% as much as their male counterparts. It would appear from this that fund raising is not a significant part of the problem except that incumbents do not run against incumbents, challengers do not run against challengers. Women, in fact, tend to be the challengers running against well-entrenched incumbents. Incumbents almost always have an advantage both in fund raising and in getting elected. As women also tend to show up in the difficult races, they need more, not merely the same, amount of funds as their opponents. Hence, the statistics are not as rosy as they look.

*

WOMEN IN THE HOUSE

The following table shows the percentage of women in the legislatures of various democracies. It was compiled by Marjorie Fribourg of the League of Women Voters of DC based on statistics gathers from the embassies of the countries listed:

Denmark's Peoples House	26.8%
Norway's Stortinget	25.8%
Australia's Senate	15.7%
Ireland's Senate	11.6%
W Germany's Bundestag	9.8%
Ireland's Dain	9.6%
Canada's House of Commons	8.0%
Israel's Knesset	8.0%
France's Chamber of Dep.	6.7%
Australia's House	5.0%
US House	5.0%
Britain's House of Commons	3.8%
US Senate	2.0%

Most senators and representatives come up through local politics. It becomes important, then, to ask how well do women fare on the local scene? In 1984, 28 more women than ever before won seats in state legislatures. Nine hundred thirty-nine women were elected in 44 states, up from 911 in 1982. This is hardly dramatic progress all by itself, but 63% of the 1,479 women who campaigned for seats did win, and looking back over a decade, the number serving has more than doubled. Furthermore, there are now only 3 states, Mississippi, Louisiana, and nearby Virginia, where no women are in the state senate, only in the lower house. Hence, the indications are that lack of experience on the local level need not be a major deterrent for women aspiring to serve in Congress.

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There are women who manage to get the experience. Because of them, 9% of the elected officeholders in the United States are women.

Obviously not all women are aggressive or confident enough for a political career. A survey of women candidates in Connecticut determined that many of them had a deep sense of insecurity when speaking before a crowd. They admitted it detracted from their impact. A director of the survey claims that more men candidates come from vocational backgrounds that require competence in public speaking. In addition, the Women's Campaign Research Fund suggests that even though a woman may be ambitious, her chances in the poitical arena are slight when she is too reticent to push herself. If she waits for the party leaders to ask her to run, she will find that this doesn't happen unless a contest is so hopeless that the party cannot find a man to take the beating. If the chances of winning look good, there are plenty of men who have worked for the party for many years angling to be its standard bearer. As a result, only 65 women even ran for the House and only 10 for the Senate and many of them entered absolutely hopeless contests.

*

A few other implications warrant attention. We find more men than women in the professions from which candidates generally come—law and business. It would be safe to guess that there is a positive correlation between how well the gender gets ahead in those areas and how well it gets represented in national politics. We find also that women—while battling male prejudice—cannot count on the support of other females. Women don't necessarily support, or vote for, their own sex. Even ardent feminists will vote for a man instead of a woman if they prefer his stand on the issues. All this, plus the fact that some family-women may prefer the local level, results in our low representation in the House and Senate. One thing is sure. We will never improve the picture until not only do more women run for Congress but they run for obtainable seats.

Marjorie Fribourg did this study for the League of Women Voters of the National Capital Area.

HOW BAD WAS LIBERALISM?

We've come across some comments on the accomplishments of liberalism of the last half century that are worth passing on. They were made by Allen Ferguson, President of AFE Inc, before the National Economist Club last fall. Ferguson notes that the real gross national product rose 546% from 1933 to 1980. Real per capita disposable income rose 233% during the same period. In 1929, one percent of nonfarm workers took vacations. By 1970, the figure had risen to 80%. The average work week dropped from around 48 hours in 1929 to around 35 hours in 1980.

By 1950, 34 million workers were covered by unemployment insurance; by 1980 the figure was almost 93 million. Social security, during the same period expanded from covering 46 million to 128 million people. While the share of income realized by the poorest 20% of the population has not changed much over the years, the percentage held by the wealthiest 5% has dropped from 30% in 1929 to 15.4% in 1981, indicating a redistribution of income to the middle class. Similarly, the percentage of total wealth held by the top one percent was 36% in 1929 and down to 20% by 1969.

Between 1959 and 1979, 9% of whites and 25% of blacks moved out of the poverty classification. And a Congressional Research Service study done in 1982 showed that without the various liberal transfer programs, 24% of the country would have been in poverty rather than the 9% that was the case. Said Ferguson: "It is my view that current attacks on programs of the past decades arise, not because liberal policies failed, but rather because they succeeded too well."

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THE REAGAN FILE

Going All the Way

The public Reagan (in a speech about aid to the contras on April 16): "A yes vote would signal new hope for peace and a return to the orginal democratic promise of the Nicaraguan revolution.". . . . The private Reagan (in a secret administraton report to congressional appropriations committees reported in the New York Times on April 17) meanwhile was preparing for war. The document said that the admistration had ruled out for now "direct application of US military force" but added that such action "must realistically be recognized as an eventual option, given our stakes in the region, if other policy alternatives fail."

Although Reagan finally agreed to visit a Holocaust site on his German trip, it is worth noting that the Bitburg cemetary not only has the remains of SS troops but is the burial ground for Nazi troops who fought Americans at the Battle of the Bulge, killing 19,000 of our troops.

Education secretary Bennett's special assistant for educational philosophy and practice, Eileen Marie Gardner, has written thusly on the subject of the handicapped, according to the Washington Post:

"They falsely assume that the lottery of life has penalized them at random. This is not so. Nothing comes to an individual that he has not, at some point in his development summoned.

"When one blames his problems on external sources and thereby separates himself from a situation he has created, he is prevented from taking hold of and changing that part of himself which causes his difficulty. He becomes an ineffective malcontent who cannot evolve because he is separated from his source of change."

Bennett said Gardner's view represented a "fundamental doctrine of Christian existentialism." James Dunn, director of the Baptist Joint Committee on Public Affairs, said it was an example of "the hyper-cruelty of hyper-Calvinism" and really wasn't fair to Calvin, anyway — not to mention Kierkegaard, the father of Christian extentialism. Gardner has since resigned.

After Labor Secretary Raymond Donovan resigned to stand trial on 137 counts of grand larceny and fraud,

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Ronald Reagan wrote him a letter accepting the resignation with "deep personal regret." Reagan wrote, "I want you to know that you leave the Cabinet with my friendship and gratitude for the years of service you have given this administration."

Georgia Representative Newt Gingrich says Reagan recently told him the story of the two psychiatrists who met on the elevator. Said one: "You look terrific. So happy! So healthy! You look ten years younger than I do. How come? How do you stand it, day after day, year in year out, listening to your patients' endless depressing problems?" "Listen?" said the other. "You mean we're supposed to listen?"

Speaking at the Gridiron dinner, Reagan said, "I think we should keep the grain and export the farmers." A few days later, the president was asked whether he regretted having said that. Replied Reagan, "Yeah, because I didn't get a laugh.". . . . At the same event, Reagan mentioned that there were rumors that he was seeing a therapist three times a week. But he told the guests not to worry: he just "had a problem" with pushing buttons.

Reagan recalled his arms reduction negotiator, Max Kampleman, to Washington during the recent MX debate, to help convince members of Congress that the country needs yet more arms. One activist noted that this may have been the first time that an arms control conference has been used as a bargaining chip to get more weapons.

Flushed with the congressional and media acceptance of this peculiar logic, Reagan was, a few days later, arguing that research for his Star Wars program

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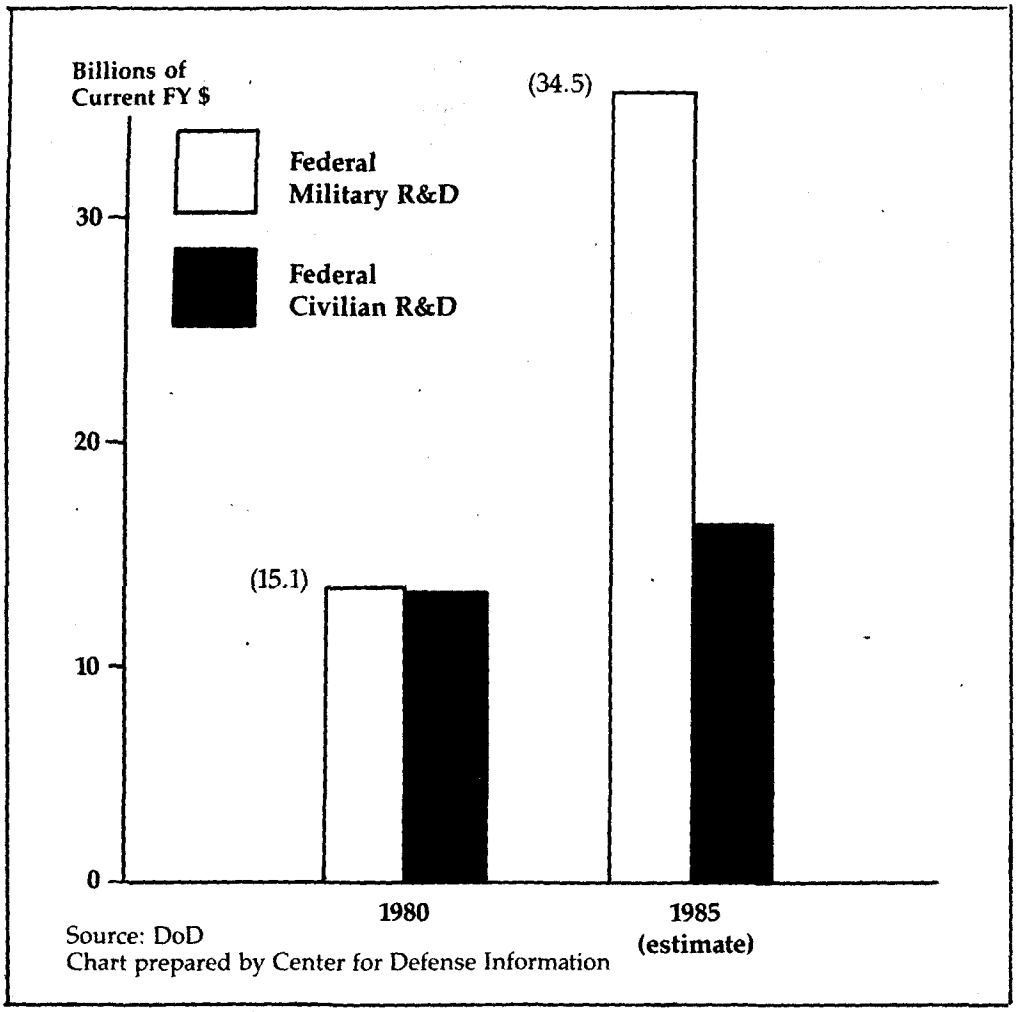

Source: DoD
Chart prepared by Center for Defense Information

STUDYING WAR (MORE & MORE)

While the U.S. is losing its commercial technological edge, it is devoting increasing resources to military Research, Development, Testing, and Evaluation (R&D). Seventy percent of all U.S. government R&D funds now go to the development of more destructive weapons. While the total (both military and civilian) U.S. R&D effort is greater than the combined efforts of Japan and Western Europe, the U.S.'s spending for civilian research is, for its economic size, proportionately less. In 1982, the U.S. spent only 1.9% of its Gross National Product on non-military R&D compared with 2.6% for West Germany and 2.5% for Japan.

In 1984, the Department of Defense spent $26.9 Billion on R&D compared with $49 Billion spent by all of private industry combined. In 1984, the Air Force spent more on the R&D of nuclear missiles, such as the MX, than the entire research budget of General Motors, the largest corporate spender.

From the Defense Monitor of the Center for Defense Information

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The military's share of the nation's R&D spending is growing, with a projected 90% increase in R&D spending from 1983 to 1987.

Huge expenditures on military research are matched by the military's employment of a large portion of the nation's researchers. About one-third of all U.S. engineers and scientists are involved in military projects. This absorption of people by the military is matched by shortages in the commercial sector, especially for computer specialists. Instead of developing better public transportation and manufactured goods, this talent is engaged in designing better tanks and missiles. For example, the military has long employed some of the nation's best ceramic engineers. The Navy recently announced a new underwater ceramic microphone that is 1000 times more sensitive than its predecessor. Meanwhile the Japanese have taken the lead in the commercial use of ceramics, in everything from ceramic scissors to gas engines.

There is little opportunity for military research to produce commercial spinoffs because it is concentrated in the development of prototypes of new weapons. Only a small portion of military R&D spending is devoted to the advancement of general technologies, such as lasers. While general military research into lasers may have commercial benefits, there is little evi-

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Pledge of Resistance Delivered to State

A delegation of religious and peace leaders hand-delivered a message to the office of the secretary of state announcing that 42,352 U.S. citizens have signed the Pledge of Resistance, a contingency plan of public resistance in the event of a U.S. invasion or military escalation in Central America.

In an effort to change U.S. policy toward Central America, the delegation met with Craig Johnstone, the deputy assistant secretary of state for inter-American affairs, for an hour and 15 minutes. The delegation outlined what has become the largest coordinated, nonviolent civil disobedience plan in U.S. history.

"We told him that from now on the pledges of these 42,000 U.S. citizens should be a factor in decision making about U.S. foreign policy in Central America," *Sojourners* Editor Jim Wallis said after the unusually long and substantive meeting. "The domestic cost [of escalation] will be the imprisoning of tens of thousands of U.S. citizens. We mean what we say, and we will do what we promise," Wallis told Johnstone.

The promise of direct action centers on a written pledge called the Pledge of Resistance, which is a personal commitment—initiated by the religious community—to nonviolently resist any U.S. military escalation or invasion in Central America.

More than half of the pledge signers have promised to engage in nonviolent civil disobedience by occupying congressional field offices and other local federal facilities until any U.S. invasion or military escalation ends. The rest of the signers have pledged to support those committing civil disobedience by engaging in activities that include demonstrating, leafletting, lobbying, and holding public worship services and vigils.

A letter prepared for Secretary of State George Shultz stated: "We sincerely hope that the growing numbers of people signing the Pledge of Resistance will cause you and other members of the government to reconsider your present policies, to withdraw your support of terrorism and repressive military violence, to abandon any and all plans for U.S. intervention, and to seek a negotiated peaceful settlement to the conflicts in Central America."

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or 856-6311 (h)

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(207) 422-9007

Southeast
(WV, VA, NC, SC, KY, TN, GA, MS, AL, LA, FL)
Gail Phares
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Raleigh, NC 27609
(919) 834-5184

The National Clearinghouse for the Pledge of Resistance is housed at:
Interreligious Taskforce on Central America
475 Riverside Drive, Room 503
New York, NY 10115
(212) 870-3383

—SANE WORLD

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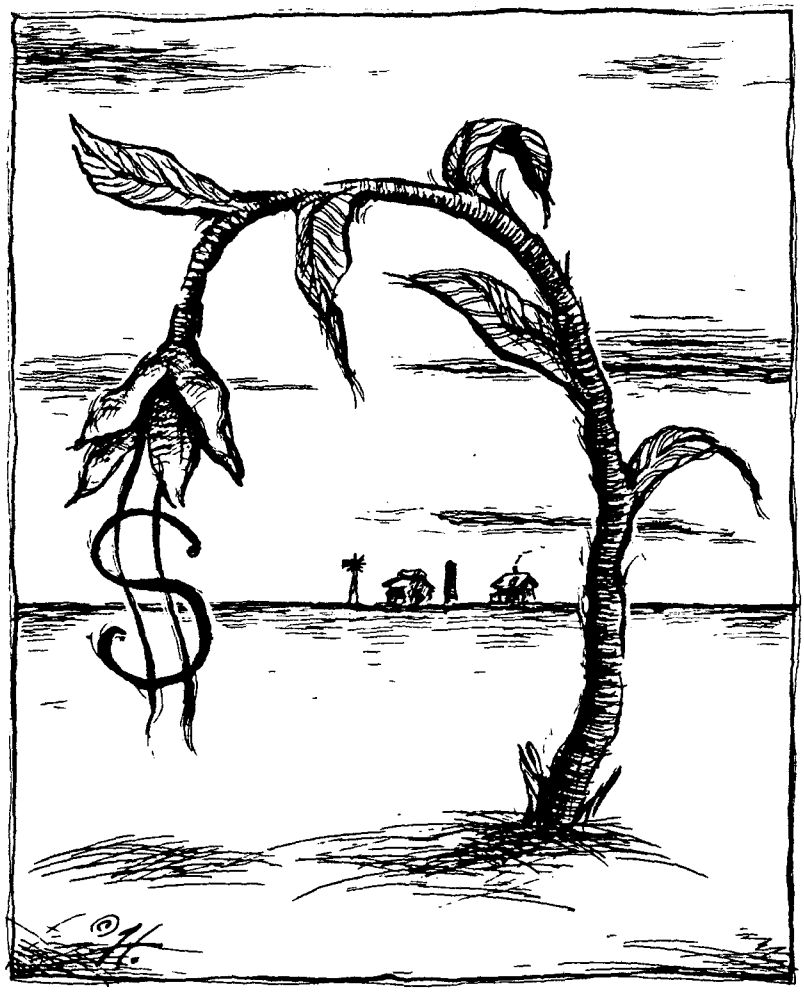

THE RURAL SQUATTERS

James Ridgeway

ST. PAUL, MN.—Farm protests may have passed from newspaper headlines, but the demonstrations themselves have intensified. More and more, farmers are turning out to fight foreclosure sales, announcing "peoples' moratoriums" on bank loans, and squatting on land the banks have reclaimed.

Some of the actions may seem familiar, but even these show a new unity and force.

• In Glenwood, Minn., recently, about 1,000 people gathered to protest the sale of the farm of Jim Langeman, former state head of the American Agricultural Movement. Thirty who linked arms to block the door of the sheriff's office were quickly and peacefully arrested. But when the sheriff came out to read a description of the property he was quickly drowned out by shouts of "No Sale! No Sale!"

The sheriff cancelled the sale and rescheduled when, organizers say, they will bring Jesse Jackson to protest.

• In Plattsburg, Mo., scene of a major farm debt protest in the 30s, more than 1,000 farmers and union members joined to protest the foreclosure sale of Perry Wilson, Sr.'s 700-acre farm. The street in front of the courthouse was blocked off as speakers from farm groups, the United Auto Workers and the Southern Christian Leadership Conference conducted a rally.

As the time for sale neared, a phalanx of police issued forth from the courthouse to take up positions facing the crowd. Behind them came a second wave

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of police who charged, clubbing a radio newsman, injuring men and women. Ten were hospitalized and eight jailed—all later released without being charged.

In the middle of this melee, the Federal Land Bank trustee appeared in the courthouse door surrounded by 20 highway patrolmen and started to speak over a bullhorn—but here, too, deafening shouts of "No Sale! No Sale!" came from the crowd.

Now an organization called "Groundswell" is suing to block any transfer of the Wilson land, claiming the sale never took place. Members are also picketing a Kearney, Mo., bank which holds the mortgage to Wilson's house and 100 acres. The UAW is threatening to withdraw its deposits if the bank doesn't stop its plans to foreclose.

"Perry Wilson isn't leaving his farm," says Roger Allison, state spokesman for the AAM. "We're saying as rural people that if a farmer doesn't want to be sold out, we'll go into that farmer's area, help him organize and demand that the sale be set aside."

Groundswell is also calling for a people's moratorium. In this increasingly popular form of protest, farmers simply refuse to pay banks and essentially squat on land that is being foreclosed.

Groundswell basically sprang up overnight. In December, 75 people turned up at a meeting called by a handful of citizens in Worthington, Minn. Another meeting was scheduled and 500 appeared. At that session, it was decided to circulate a petition demanding a moratorium—one man brought in 15,000 signatures to the next meeting, which drew a thousand people.

And on a freezing cold January day, 17,000 assembled on the steps of the state capitol.

Groundswell organizers are now active in every county in Minnesota, and have spread into Wisconsin, So. Dakota and, most recently, Missouri.

"We're not an organization," says Bobbi Polzine, of Minnesota Groundswell. "We're a movement. We come naturally from the shoe shops and implement stores and feed sheds.

"On the first of February, we had four different actions to stop foreclosure. There were no successful stoppages. Some paper was traded, but that was all. Paper.

"We were standing in this courthouse—a thousand people were stuffed in there, and I said, we'll see a lot of paper traded before this is over. But I said it's when they come to occupy the land, to actually take that family from the land, then I'll stand in the gate, and I asked them who will stand with me. And all thousand people stood up."

The newest and perhaps most dramatic form of protest is a squatter's movement, which has appeared in Iowa where some observers say as many as 30 percent of all operating farmers are in serious trouble, and pressure from banks has been particularly severe.

Squatting takes time and some knowledge of the law—and determination. Basically, it works like this:

Even after foreclosure proceedings begin, it takes about three years before a farmer can actually be removed from the land. For the first two years, the farmer can use various legal stratagems to fight off the local commercial bank or the farm credit system banks—a fight he invariably loses.

Once the sheriff's sale is held, he still has the right to buy back his property over the next year, so he stays on, essentially squatting on the land.

By then, of course, his machinery is long gone, but bankruptcy laws permit the farmer and his wife to keep $5,000 each, and with that $10,000, at current depressed prices, he can buy a tractor and other basic equipment. This allows him to till the land the bank has repossessed. He must still buy fertilizer, fuel and pesticides, and here he must scrounge—to find a distributor who will carry him through the season, a neighbor who might help out or, more likely, grow his crop without fertilizer and pesticides.

Melvin Schneiders, a former Production Credit Assn. loan officer who now functions as a pro-bono farm credit consultant for bankrupt farmers, says squatting is "really where we're at. The guys who come in my door have made up their minds—they won't move come hell or high water."

The people who come to Schneiders' small Washington, Iowa home are substantial farmers worth $300,000 or more but without the cash to pay current bills like utilities, phones, health insurance. "Everybody just pulls together," Schneiders says, with a wife working part-time or a youngster finding an after-school job to pay these bills.

"We don't know what's going to happen," says Schneiders. "No one has been through this before."

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ROADSIGNS

Rape: An estimated 1.5 million girls and women were raped in the U.S. between 1973 and 1982.

That finding comes from a report by the Bureau of Justice Statistics, a unit of the Department of Justice.

The bureau's report also shows that the typical rape victim is unmarried, under 25, from a poor family and away from her home at the time of the attack. The rapist is most likely to be an unarmed stranger of the same race as the woman, and the attack is most apt to take place between 6 PM and midnight.

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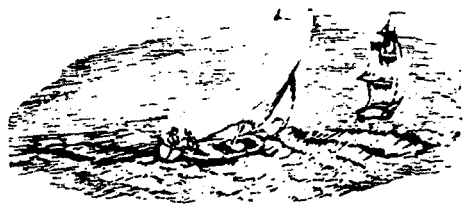
TOPICS

Sam Smith



Over the past few weeks, we have received reassurances that the Pope will have his contract renewed as the media's designated hitter for the almighty. The reality of religion, even that of the Christian variety, is far too complex to fit conveniently into a few paragraphs or a sound bite, so it's helpful to have one individual the media can turn to when its thoughts run theological. The Pope fills the bill magnificently.

Hence the inevitable front-page photos of his holiness blessing the crowd on Easter morning. It's never quite said, but the message is clear: in the editorial offices of America, the Pope is the titular leader of Christianity, and, in fact, of all respectable religions of the Free World. Even on Passover.

Understanding this may make it seem a little less absurd to think about Bryant Gumbel, Jane Pauley and Willard Scott attending a televised mass by the Pope for the benefit of the "Today" show. Afterwards, this noted transcendental trio gave the Pope a baseball hat with "NBC News" on it. It's case of what the sophisticated public relations types call synergism.

Actually, I shouldn't exaggerate. The media really promotes a neatly categorized form of pantheism. The subliminal message is that we should pray Catholic, laugh Jewish and vote Evangelican Christian.

The press, true to course, managed to obscure the fact that the current dispute among the French as to what sort of voting system to use involves more than the future of Francois Mitterand. American journalists have always found it hard to understand any form of democracy other than the brutish winner-take-all approach of this country. And since their interest in democracy is tempered by their rampant desire for something they call a "strong leader," anything that conflicts with such leadership is suspect and probably pinko to boot.

I think that many of my colleagues don't really believe in democracy at all. What they truly want is a serial autocracy, witness the media's disinterest in America's steadily declining balances of power.

Viewed from a democratic perspective, however, what Mitterand has proposed does not seem so outrageous, even if the timing is a tad questionable. Proportional representation at its best, means simply that the variety of political thought of a country is represented in its legislature. We lack such variety here, and attempt to prevent it through our election laws. Americans have been trained to think that a democracy is primarily orderly and only secondarily representative. Hear what comfortable words the Washington Post correspondent Michael Dobbs said of the French situation:

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"Under the present system, elections are held in two rounds. The first round is frequently viewed as a kind of popularity contest, with the second round usually a straight left-right clash between the two leading candidates.

"By penalizing the smaller parties, the present system has produced a succession of clear-cut results for the National Assembly and ended the period of unstable coalition governments that characterized the Fourth Republic."

Dobbs also points out that seats in the National Assembly, under the plan, "will be distributed in rough proportion to the number of votes received."

This was once considered a basic characteristic of democracy. But the serial autocrats have done away with that troublesome necessity in favor of government that is "clear-cut" and devoid of "paralysis."

In fact, one of the basic problems with the democratic West is that it isn't very democratic. And Europeans, sadly, can expect little help from a country that lets only two people into the presidential debates but practically every team into the play-offs of its hockey league. We simply don't understand this business very well.

Speaking of balances of power, I was dismayed to see that so little attention was paid to the recent Supreme Court decision that expanded the ability of the federal government to supercede local actions. The New York Times did describe it as a "welcome return to sensible federalism." But as the Dean of the Rutgers Law School, John Pittenger, pointed out in a letter to the paper, it is no such thing. Said Pittenger, "it marks, rather, the end of federalism as a notion with any support in the Constitution." Pittenger notes the decline of federalism in recent decades and makes several interesting points:

- Increasingly, members of Congress have little or no background in state or local government. Where once membership in Congress was the product of a lifetime of public service, now more and more members enter Congress as a result of fame achieved in some other walk of life. Thus the tie between Congress and the states is weakened.
- The decline of the political parties and their replacement by political action committees have weakened the power of the governors, making members of Congress more indifferent to their concerns.
- The media has fostered the idea that national solutions are best. Says Pittenger:

"Uniformity is the watchword of the day; state and local concerns get described as 'provincial' or 'parochial.' Oddly, the political left and the political right have acquiesced in this development though for different reasons. To the left, 'uniformity' means 'equity;' suspicion of the states, based on the history of the civil rights movement, are never far from the surface of their thinking. To the right, 'uniformity' means 'efficiency,' the ability of national corporations to plan in terms of a single rule or policy. Overlooked in all this are the reasons why the framers of the Constitution put such emphasis on federalism as a guiding principle of the new regime."

You may recall Turkish prime minister Turut Ozal coming to Washington recently and getting the glad hand from the administration. Well, some people think that we shouldn't be so buddy-buddy with Ozal, especially since he refuses to admit the mass slaughter of Armenians in his country in the early part of this century. One of those interested in this matter is Representative Tony Coehlo who introduced a joint resolution commemorating the 70th anniversary of the Armenian genocide. The Turks didn't like this and accuse those who want to remember the Armenians as providing aid and comfort to current Armenian guerillas there and abroad, an argument that reeks of the logic of the White House Office of Disinformation.

(Please turn to page 40)

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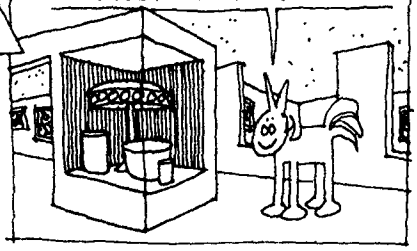
ARCHIHORSE

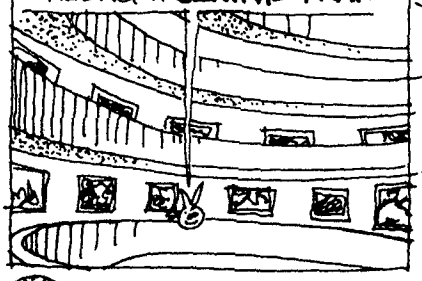
LOOKING AT PRECEDENTS
AT
ATLANTA'S NEW **HIGH MUSEUM**
(RICHARD MEIER, ARCH'T)

1 THE HIGH'S **DISPLAY CASES** DO NOT FOLLOW THE STERILE PRECEDENTS SET BY MOST MUSEUMS—INSTEAD, THEY ARE RICHLY COLORED & ELEGANTLY CRAFTED LIKE CASES AT FANCY **JEWELRY STORES**..

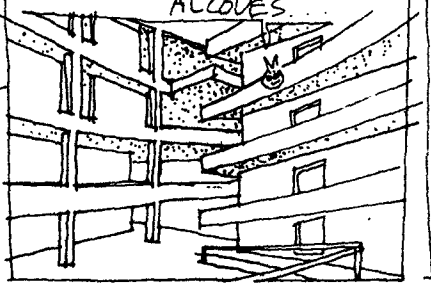


2 ITS **EXHIBIT SPACES** DON'T FOLLOW THE PRECEDENTS FOR TIGHT ROOMS SET BY MOST MUSEUMS—INSTEAD, THEY ARE ONLY OUTLINES OF SPACES LIKE THOSE FORMED BY EARLY **MODERN ARCHITECTS** WORKING IN EUROPE...

3 FRANK LLOYD WRIGHT'S **GUGGENHEIM MUSEUM** SET A PRECEDENT FOR MAKING ITS CIRCULATION A FEATURE BY PUTTING ITS DISPLAYS ALONG A **CENTRAL RAMP**...

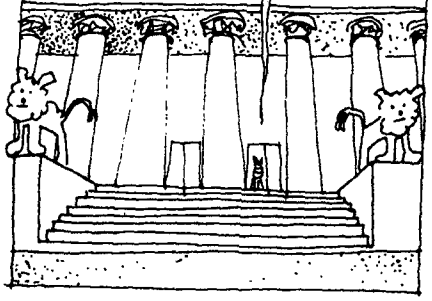


THE HIGH **IMPROVES ON THIS PRECEDENT** BY SEPARATING ITS RAMP FROM ITS ART SO THAT EXHIBITS AREN'T SO SQUEEZED INTO RAMP-SIDE ALCOVES.

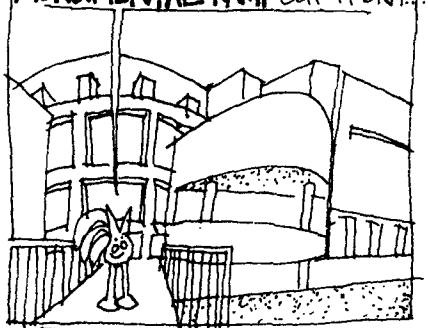


BUT, IT IS SO HARD TO SEE ANY ART AT ALL FROM THESE RAMPS THAT, AS A PRECEDENT, THEY SHOULD BE **COMBINED** WITH THE GUGGENHEIMS TO MAKE SOME **FUTURE MUSEUMS** TRULY SUCCESSFULL...

4 MOST OLDER MUSEUMS FOLLOWED A PRECEDENT OF PUTTING **MONUMENTAL STAIRS** OUT FRONT TO GAIN VISUAL GRANDEUR...

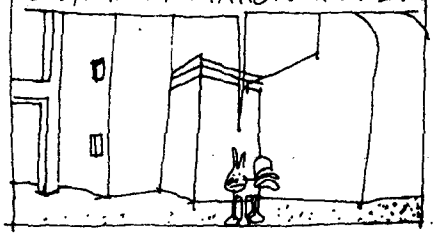


THE HIGH GAINS SIMILAR GRANDEUR—BUT GREATER ACCESSIBILITY—BY PUTTING A **MONUMENTAL RAMP** OUT FRONT..



A PRECEDENT FOR THIS GREAT RAMP IS LE CORBUSIER'S **CARPENTER CENTER** UP IN CAMBRIDGE, MASS—A PRECEDENT THE HIGH OUGHT TO HAVE FOLLOWED MORE CLOSELY..

THE CARPENTER'S RAMP RUNS THROUGH THE BUILDING TO INVITE PEOPLE FROM **BOTH SIDES**—BUT THE HIGH'S LEADS **ONLY** FROM THE STREET OUT FRONT, FORCING THE MUSEUM TO **TURN ITS BACK** ON A BUSY BUS/SUBWAY STATION THERE..



5 THE HIGH HAS A COSTLY & GLISTENING **IMAGE** FOLLOWING THE PRECEDENT SET BY ITS ARCHITECT'S **RECENT HOUSES**—AN IMAGE THAT SEEMS RIGHT FOR AN IMPORTANT BUILDING LIKE A MUSEUM, BUT THAT SEEMS FRIVOLOUS FOR A HOUSE..

6 THE HIGH SETS A NEW PRECEDENT FOR MUSEUMS BY BEING A **GRAND, BRIGHT & THOUGHTFUL PLACE TO SEE ART**—BUT A **TRULY CREATIVE** FOLLOWING OF THIS PRECEDENT COULD BE EVEN **MORE** THOUGHTFUL, & JUST AS GRAND & BRIGHT!

THE END

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North Atlantic Activists Organize

by Charles Scheiner

In response to the growing militarization of the North Atlantic, peace activists on both sides of the ocean have joined together in a North Atlantic Network of Peace Movements. The Network was born two years ago at a conference in Glasgow, Scotland, and formalized at an August 1984 meeting in Reykjavik, Iceland.

In Reykjavik, 65 people from 11 countries discussed common issues, set up a structure and planned internationally-coordinated actions to focus public attention on the dangers of new weapons deployments in the region. The purpose of the Network is not to supersede existing peace groups, but to share information and develop joint projects.

The first such project was held last December. Bonfires and torchlight processions in many coastal locations (100 in Britain alone) symbolically warned of the approaching danger of nuclear war. Further actions are planned for the first two weeks of June—in the United States, a New York action is being discussed as part of the international events. Other American activities may also develop.

The need for transoceanic coordination of peace activity became obvious as the superpowers shifted their military activities to sea. Although the NATO-Warsaw Pact boundary in Central Europe is often considered the most likely flashpoint for a U.S.-U.S.S.R. confrontation, Soviet and American military forces have more direct contact in the North Atlantic as their fleets and submarines circle each other.

New military deployments in the North Atlantic come in three forms, each initiated by the United States:

1. Anti-submarine warfare technology, including aircraft, surface ships, and undersea listening devices, presents a serious threat to the survivability of the Soviet nuclear submarine deterrent force, especially since the majority of Soviet ballistic missile-launching submarines is confined to the Barents Sea, northeast of Norway. The U.S. has a decided advantage over the Soviets in both submarine and anti-submarine technology.

2. Sea-launched cruise missiles, 4,000 of which will be deployed on American surface ships and submarines by 1995, come in nuclear and conventional versions which are externally indistinguishable and therefore difficult to verify. When launched from off the Soviet coast, the subsonic speed of the cruise is less important than its accuracy, evasion and radar invisibility, giving it a role in a first strike. The cruise is also designed for limited nuclear operations in the Third World and for naval warfare. A new generation of Soviet cruise warfare missiles are now being tested, and sea-launched versions have been deployed in attack submarines off the Atlantic coast of the U.S.

3. Surface Action Groups or SAGs (fleets of about five surface ships centered around a battleship) will be Rapid Deployment Forces on the sea, ready to introduce American military might, including nuclear weapons, into trouble spots or conventional war zones. One of these SAGs, based around the World War II battleship *U.S.S. Iowa*, is to be based in New York City; its principal theater of operation will be the North Atlantic.

In the Pacific and the Atlantic, people in island and coastal nations are forming transnational movements to prevent the militarization of the oceans. By joining in this work, people in the United States can, in the words of Welsh North Atlantic organizer Jan Williams, "create the framework for an alternative alliance in which the politics of confrontation would be rejected in favor of the politics of coexistence."

For more information on the North Atlantic Network, contact the Mobilization for Survival, 853 Broadway, #418, New York, NY 10003, 212-533-0008.

--SANE WORLD

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LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

Dear Marketing Manager:

A special fund, in an unprecedented amount, is given to a university by the Government. The aim is to collect overseas serials; journals, magazines, periodicals, etc. *in the social sciences and related subjects.*

Kinokuniya is asked by the university to prepare a list of quotations, which is now being worked out by picking up titles from various sources.

We can not miss yours. We have located in the Ulrich's International Periodicals Directory, 23rd ed. 1984 from R.R. Bowker Company, the one above referred. You are of course invited to offer more of yours, if any of *the social sciences.*

Chances are great. The time factor is extremely important. *Your immediate reply would be appreciated.* Seeing is believing. Send in together a copy of *specimen*, or a *recent issue*, or a copy of *catalog, brochure, leaflet*, anything that may help convince librarians.

Kinokuniya is known for its active approaches to the market and its professionalism in handling and marketing serials. Its nation-wide sales network covers the whole market for imported publications. It is well reputed of meeting requirements at all times.

Teruzo Kubota
General Manager
Journal Department
Kinokuniya Company
Tokyo, Japan

●

Dear Sam:

You cast John Ray's rent control phase-out bill in a rather unfavorable light. There were many progressive reasons for supporting John Ray's proposal.

(1) Rent control has created disincentives for housing providers to increase the supply of rentable housing and keep existing rental housing in good condition. Councilmember Ray conservatively estimates that there are 5,000 boarded up vacant housing units in D.C. due to rent control. Abolition of rent control is a way to help assure quality housing for D.C. citizens by removing the bureaucratic obstacles discouraging and preventing providers from improving their properties.

(2) A great deal of new construction and development is going on in the central city. Almost all this new development is for office space and some for condominia; almost none though for apartment buildings. At the rent control hearings, banks, realtors, and apartment owners reported that banks would not lend money for purchase of rental housing in D.C. due to rent control. The encouragement of the construction of more rental housing in D.C. is a progressive goal. Rent control is the major obstacle standing in the way of achieving that goal.

John Ray's proposal was more than just a rent control phase-out bill—it was a comprehensive housing measure providing for waivers, abatements, and reductions of property taxes and water/sewer fees, and tax-exempt financing to encourage the construction of new rental housing and major renovation of existing structures. Do the advocates of the *status quo* prefer cheap rents now in exchange for dilapidated old housing tomorrow? Do they desire to mortgage the future to pay for the present? That is what continuation of rent control will do.

(3) The *Gazette* has been D.C.'s leading voice opposing the way in which the new construction in the central city makes lots of permanent jobs for suburbanites, while D.C. taxpayers foot the bill. However, if we do not provide an adequate supply of housing for the people who occupy the shiny new downtown buildings, how can we credibly complain about the fact that most of their occupants live in the suburbs? This is an inescapable consequence of continuing the rent control *status quo*, which takes away the incentive to construct, rehabilitate, and repair rental housing.

(4) Rent control places us at risk that, as the good housing disappears from this city, so too will the good jobs. Beyond a point, the shiny new office buildings which contain many of D.C.'s good jobs will decide that since traffic is such a hassle, and costs in D.C. are higher, why not relocate to the suburbs? As the good jobs leave, so will much of D.C.'s tax base and population. During the decade of rent control, we have lost about 20 percent of our population. How can we go to Congress asking to be a state when our population is declining while other states' are rising?

(5) Rent control is a subsidy for the greedy—not the needy. Rent control applies to luxury apartments as well as other kinds. A witness at the Council hear-

(Please turn to page 44)

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WORDWAYS

Mike Bell

Lots of states require all their high-school English teachers to take a course in History of the English Language, and it has often been my lot to teach them. Though the recent popularity of John Ciardi's chats on "Morning Edition" show how fascinating the subject can be, to the average undergraduate it is a subject requiring a little sugar-coating.

To get students interested in word histories, I used to require them to find the etymology of their own names . . . not always knowing what they'd find, or how much I would learn. Naturally, it wasn't long until I had a student named "Miller" in class, and she dutifully plodded back through Old English *mylle* to Latin *molina*—yes, a concept that basic was *borrowed* into our culture, and then the fun began.

Molina is derived from *molere* "crush, grind," from which we get a number of other interesting words. (I'm doing some pedagogical oversimplifying here; the following words don't all have *molere* as their immediate parent, for it, too has to come from somewhere, and that somewhere is the Indo-European root *MEL-, with the same meaning.)

Some of these words refer to things that must have been thought of as "grist," the *products* of grinding or crushing, so it is natural that words like *meal*, "ground grain"—as in *cornmeal*—and *malt*, "sprouted grain," are derived from this idea. At least one important grain plant, *millet*, seems to have been named from this root, in which case its primitive concept is "the plant that you grind up." Some would also place in this class *molecule*, assuming that it literally means "a little ground-up thing."

"Little ground-up thing" is also not a bad description for *mold* in its meaning "powdery earth or soil"—or, in a wonderful definition from 1658, "dust or crumblings of turf." (This meaning of *mold* is apparently unrelated to the stuff that produces blue cheese, or grows on your old socks.) And from this meaning has apparently come the name of the tiniest primate, the animal that makes the mold its domain: the *mole*.

Mulch would also go in this class. But there are other classes too. One of them contains words meaning "a crusher, something to grind with," and you'll find several members of that class in your mouth: your *molars*. (For an interesting conceptual contrast look up *incisor*.) Wherever you keep your croquet equipment you'll find another one: your *mallet*. This is a diminutive form of a word that also shows up in English as *maul*, now mainly used as a verb; but you'll still find that dictionaries give its first meaning as "a heavy-handed, long-handled hammer for driving stakes"—hence the 1887 definition of the verb as "beat severely, as with a maul." And of course hammerable things are called *malleable*, from the Latin word for a hammer. This sub-family even gives us the cigarette brand-name *Pall Mall*, by a route so devious it'll have to wait for another day.

From Scandinavian some two more interesting cousins. The first is Thor's famous hammer, *Mjollnir*, "The Crusher." "It had shattered many a giant's skull," the Old Icelandic sources tell us in their poker-faced way; and they frequently depict it at work. The other is *maelstrom*, popularized in English by Poe's short story. In English it means "a turbulent, chaotic torrent or confusion," but it has come to us from the Norse name of a specific whirlpool off the Norwegian coast, which Viking voyagers named "Crushing Current, the stream that can smash your ship."

Some etymologists would go even farther, and bring in *milk* (because crushing reminds them of the squeezing technique that extracts it from milch animals) and *milt*, fish sperm, which is really just a deformed version of *milk*. Others would go farther still, relating the idea "crushed, ground up" to the idea "soft," which would then claim for the *MEL-family *melt*, *mollify*, *emollient*, and perhaps even French *miel*, "honey," which some think is named in that language for its softness. The same assumption would also admit *molasses*, which we get from Latin *mellaceus*, "made from honey"; and the second part of *marshmallow*, which refers originally to a plant from whose mucilaginous root a popular confection was home-made. (It's since been kidnapped by the candy industry, so that few people know that it ever meant anything but a synthetic product.)

I think this "milk" connection is a bit improbable, but it has been seriously proposed by word historians.

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READING MATTER

CONSCIENCE AND TAX RESISTANCE: 12 page pamphlet from the Pax Christi USA Center, PO Box 726, 5 Bigelow Street, Cambridge MA 02139. 40 cents each plus shipping.

American Peace Directory 1984. Institute for Defense and Disarmament Studies, Melinda Fine and Peter M. Steven, Editors. Ballanger Publishing Company: Cambridge, Mass., 1984. 225pp. $12.95.

This directory, complete with a user's guide, lists peace groups alphabetically, by zip code, and by House of Representatives district and member. Address, phone number, and brief description is listed for each group. The directory contains a four-way index. The Institute for Defense and Disarmament Studies will also provide sets of addresses, in mailing label format, of the 1350 groups included in the book. *NISBCO*

Hardier crops can help make farming and gardening easier, says the Natural Food Institute in its new booklet "Wonder Crops 1985."

The catalog tells where to buy disease-resistant peaches and apricots as well as tomatoes, grapes, and blueberries, Roxbury Russet apples and Green Gage plums. Hardier crops would benefit people the world over who aren't blessed with rich farmland or an ideal climate. Tough plants can help improve impoverished soil.

Also listed are more than 200 other crops including vegetables, nuts, and grains that are resistant to insects, cold, drought, or possess some other unusual trait such as high vitamin content. Prices are included.

The 15,000-word booklet, which costs $3, is based on information supplied by gardeners and farmers coast to coast, as well as pomologists, seed collectors, universities, and the U.S. Department of Agriculture including the Cooperative Extension Service in all 50 States. More than 200 seedhouses and nurseries were contacted. "The catalog is designed to help people feed their families," notes the Institute. "Stronger crops mean more food with less work—at less cost." Info: NFI, Box 185 WMBR, Dudley, MA 01570.

The Nuclear CO

MY COUNTRY RIGHT or WRONG? Selective Conscientious Objection in the Nuclear Age. Eileen P. Flynn. Loyola University Press: Chicago. 1985; 98pp.

Eileen P. Flynn, like the U.S. Catholic Bishops, has examined war in the nuclear age and finds it wanting. Her little book, *My Country Right or Wrong?*, urges U.S. policy makers to recognize the selective conscientious objection which she believes will properly and inevitably arise at the point of a command to fire nuclear weapons.

What Flynn calls a type of selective conscientious objection is what others have termed "nuclear pacifism." Her discussion helps focus what the concern is. She accepts the traditional principles of the "just war" approach. From those principles, foremost attention falls on the discrimination between civilian and military targets and casualties. She correctly observes that the principle of civilian protection in the conduct of war is deeply held in our society.

This principle is also disavowed under almost any use of nuclear weapons. If a just war is one in which the state engages to *protect* civilians, and if the methods and tactics of a just war attempt to limit civilian casualties (whether directly or indirectly caused), then war on nuclear terms does not meet the condition. This, then, provides a logical basis for selective conscientious objection, according to Flynn.

Flynn also asserts that this brand of selective conscientious objection challenges the conscience of the state in a way that other forms of conscientious objection do not. That is because it accepts the state's usual rationale and moral argument for war, and then calls on the state to act accordingly.

Each of the book's chapters (on rights and responsibilities of conscience, pacifism and selective objection, challenging the authority of the state, and the closeness of nuclear war) raises significant and provocative questions of morality, whether the reader be a draft resister, a traditional CO, a member of the armed forces, or a public policy maker. Also in each chapter, Flynn repeats her refrain that society should address the issue of selective conscientious objection before it's too late. That repetition may wear heavily, but it does underscore her sense of urgency lest our national policy be already decided on abandoning even lip service to protection of civilians in the waging of warfare. ■

Reviewed by Ron Martin-Adkins. From the NISBCO Reporter.

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ACTION NOTES

National Committee for Independent Political Action: This group, which backed Jesse Jackson's presidential bid describes itself as an alliance between al segments of oppressed people with black initiative and leadership at its core. Its current goals include the conversion of the American economy to a peacetime economy. Info: NCIPA, 2033 Fifth Ave, NYC NY 10035.

Campfest: A women's music festival on Memorial Day weekend to be held in New Jersey. Also sports events. Info: Campfest '85, PO Box 30381, Philadelphia, Pa 19103.

"Uniting for Rural Change": The second Annual Meeting of the Rural Coalition, scheduled for May 19-22 at the National 4-H Center, just outside Washington, D.C. Over 200 *rural activists* will discuss and debate strategies to address jobs, agricultural reform, community development, natural resources, the military and other issues. Registration is $40.00; lodging and all meals are $154.60. Limited scholarships may be available. Info: Rural Coalition, 2001 S Street, N.W., Suite 500, Washington, D.C. 20009 or call 202/483-1500.

Sisterfire '85, an open-air festival of women's culture, will be held on June 22nd and 23rd at Takoma Park Junior High School in Washington, D.C. Among the performers will be folk singer Ferron, the African percussion and dance ensemble called Edwina Lee Tyler & A Piece of the World, and the a capella group Sweet Honey in the Rock. For more information contact Roadwork, Inc. at 1475 Harvard St., N.W., Washington, D.C. 20009 or call 202/234-9308.

The Omega Institute is a non-profit learning center, located two hours north of New York City, in a rural environment. Omega offers weekend and week-long courses throughout the summer, June 16 to September 2, in progressive politics, business ethics, alternative medicine, ecology, education, the arts, spirituality, and tools for living such as gardening, building, and community arts. For a free catalog, write The Omega Institute, RD #2 Box 377, Lake Drive, Rhinebeck, NY 12572, or phone (before May 15) 914/876-2058; (after May 15) 914/266-4301.

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FINE. AS A TOKEN OF OUR GOOD INTENTIONS, FIRE A WARNING SHOT!
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EUGENE McCARTHY

Homogenized Birthdays

All President's Day caught me by surprise. I had not known that all separate President's birthdays had been wiped out, homogenized, consolidated into one day of observance, although I was vaguely aware that Lincoln's birthday on February 12 had passed without much recognition.

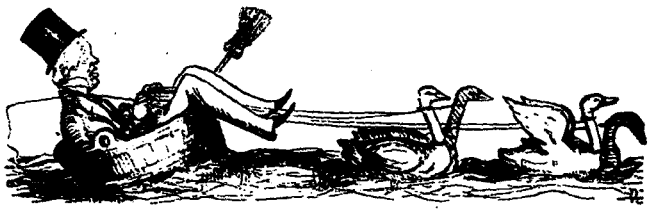
Then, what used to be singularly and particularly and personally George Washington's birthday approached. I noted the announcements of "All Presidents' Sales," not only the traditional "white sales," which had been associated with George and Martha, who seemed to be heavy into sheets and pillowcases, (Possibly, if we accept some doubtful historical data, because George's disposition to sleep in so many places) but of sales of all kinds of things —especially of automobiles.

Armistice Day, I knew, had already been made non-historic and renamed "Veteran's Day." I disapproved of that change, being of the opinion that the end of World War I deserved one day on the annual calendar, just as I think V.E. Day and V.J. Day also do. Memorial Day easily could have been expanded in scope to include all veterans—the dead, the living, and those missing in action. Consolidations of these kinds were probably inevitable, certainly threatened, once the moving of days occurred in mid-week-to Monday or Friday so as to lengthen the weekend for either commercial or leisure purposes, was accepted.

They may have been foreshadowed even earlier and in a more subtle way with the introduction of homogenized food products. One of the first such products was homogenized milk. Its cream content did not show in the neck of the bottle and could not be poured off for special use, but was reduced to being reported as a percent of butter fat not evident to the human eye. Homogenized peanut butter followed. One jar of pre-homogenized peanut butter provided at least three taste experiences. The first followed immediately after the jar was opened. At the top of the jar was a layer of oil to be mixed into the more solid contents. The mixing usually fell short of being thorough, and the peanut butter in those early days of use was somewhat oily. In the second stage, the peanut butter tasted much more like modern homogenized peanut butter, but in the last stages of use, what was left in the jar took on a special character—dry and crunchy—somewhat like peanut butter candy bars or cookies.

Consolidations may have been encouraged some by religious practices. The more liturgical churches have long celebrated "All Saints' Day," a catch-up observation designed to pick up those saints who had not been identified or canonized, and to pay attention to those recognized but who might not have received enough attention or honor. In a somewhat circumspect and careful action, the Church dedicates another day not to "All Popes," but to "All Holy Popes."

Pearl Harbor Day could be re-christened as "Ship Attack Day," thus encompassing "Remembering the Maine," the Lusitania, and possibly even the Tonkin Gulf "Incident." Christmas could become simply "The Holiday," and everyone's birthday celebrated together on "All Birthday's Day," say, January 1, the day on which all thoroughbred race horses are presumed, for some purpose, to have been born.



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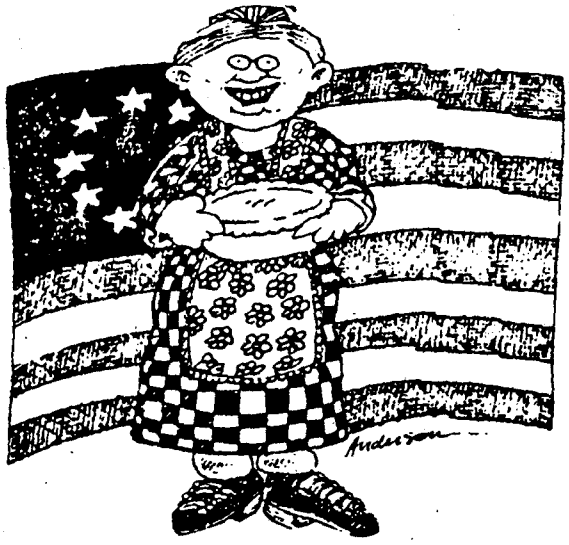

Apple Pie

A messy food fight has broken out between tomato growers in Israel and Florida. The Floridians claim the Israelis are trying to dredge up images of the Holocaust by referring to the American product as "force-fed," "gassed" and "crammed into semi-trailers." And they say the "Jewish" ads attacking the domestic product indicate Congress "should re-examine the grounds for our traditional support of Israel." The Israelis are calling the Floridians anti-Semitic, the Floridians are calling the Israelis anti-American, and the imported Carmel tomatoes are selling well—in New York City.

Conservative leader Howard Phillips wants to wake up Americans to a Red menace . . . Nicaraguan coffee. He claims trendy liberals are buying the Sandinista beans and giving "aid and comfort to the enemy." The importer—a cop-op called "Friends of the Third World"—is planning a brew that'll really make Phillips see red: "Socialist Blend," a mix of Nicaraguan, Tanzanian and Angolan beans.

Six years ago, it was a source of terror. But today, the Three Mile Island nuclear power plant is generating tourism. The crippled reactor hasn't produced a single megawatt since its near-meltdown on March 28, 1979. But it has become a major attraction: over a half-million people have visited the facility since the accident, and that means jobs and money for residents of nearby Middletown, Pennsylvania. At the power plant, you can take a bus tour, watch a video show of the near-disaster and stock up on souvenirs like "TMI Coffee Mugs," shaped like the cooling towers. Outside the gates, the T-shirt business is booming. After all, who could resist the silk-screen special saying, "A little 'nukey' never hurt anyone"?

Genetics professor Paul Fuerst polled 2400 science students at Ohio State University and found a majority of them believe equal time should be devoted to teaching evolution and creationism in biology courses. Says the prof: "It's sort of like saying that in geology we should give equal time to the 'flat earth' theories."

Last December's subway shooting has caused many New Yorkers to wonder just who is carrying a gun in the Big Apple these days. The New York police say there are nearly 32,000 permits to carry loaded weapons in the city. Among those legally allowed to pack a rod: Laurance Rockefeller, William F. Buckley, developer Donald Trump and *New York Times* publisher Arthur Sulzburger. The permit holders also include 345 lawyers, 229 doctors, 54 members of the clergy, nine entertainers and three landlords. Among those who have been turned down for permits: Frank Sinatra, Buddy Hackett, writer Pete Hamill and, of course, Bernhard Goetz.

A Miami theater has finally solved the problem of those annoying paging devices that go "beep" in the middle of performances. The theater will check your beeper at the door. If you get a message during the show, an usher will come to your seat to let you know. Beepers are an especially big problem in Miami, by the way, because so many drug dealers use them to keep in contact with with their customers.

Three out of four high school students in a recent study couldn't come up with a simple description of capitalism, and only half could tell the difference between the U.S. and Soviet economies. And a quarter of the high school students said the government is required to guarantee a profit for private business.

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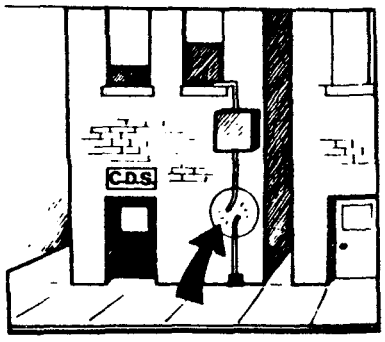
How to Foul-Up A Whole Country



CORTAR CABLE DEL SISTEMA DE ALARMA

CUT CABLES OF ALARM SYSTEMS

PERFORATING FUEL TANKS WITH AN ICE PICK.

PERFORANDO TANQUES DE COMBUSTIBLE CON UN PUNZÓN DE HIELO

INCINERACION DEL COMBUSTIBLE CON UN "COCTEL MOLOTOV"

BURNING OF THE FUEL WITH A "MOLOTOV COCKTAIL"

Drawings on this page are taken from the CIA-produced comic book entitled *The Freedom Fighter's Manual*. The comic book is now available to the public in English, as well as the original Spanish, thanks to Grove Press. To order, send $2 to: Grove Press, 196 W. Houston St., New York, NY 10014, 212-242-4900.

HOARD AND STEAL FOOD FROM THE GOVERNMENT

ACAPARAR Y ROBAR ALIMENTOS DEL GOBIERNO

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PENTAGON WASTE

A study prepared for the National Marine Engineers Beneficial Association has found 104 areas of defense spending that is costing taxpayers' unnecessary billions of dollars. In fact, the report argues that "the controversies over which weapons systems are unnecessary (and therefore wasteful) grab the headlines, but do not represent the largest waste at DOD. In addition, because of the bow-wave nature of Defense spending, savings from unnecessary weapons systems would take longer to achieve than savings from elimination of management waste, which recur annually."

Some of the big items of waste estimated by the report include:

- High overhead charged by defense contractors: $2.8-16.2 billion.
- Lack of competitive bidding: $4.4-5.6 billion.
- Redundant prime contractor facilities: $2.3-2.8 billion.
- Not using commercial components and specifications when feasible: $1.3-2 billion.
- Theft by military and contractor personnel: $0.9-2.8 billion.
- Lack of coordination among the branches of service: $3 billion.
- Lack of one common computer program language: $1.5 billion.
- Unnecessary military bases: up to $5.2 billion

The report notes, however, that "while it is tempting to focus on the very 'large ticket items' of hundreds of millions or billions of dollars per year," smaller items need to be dealt with as well. Says the report:

"A $1 million item of waste, for example, is very easy to overlook in a Defense budget of $273 billion, yet its nearly equivalent to the total budget authority of the Job Corps. An important lesson *** is that what may easily slip through the cracks at Defense, can be very substantial dollars relative to other aspects of the federal budget. Just the waste from excessive use of aircraft afterburners, and other inefficiencies in aircraft thrust management, waste enough fuel each year to fund the school lunch program for nearly one year, the Occupational Safety and Health Administration for nearly two years, the Bureau of the Census for more than five years, or the federal fair housing program for 86 years."

The report concludes that "waste is massive and pervasive, and the rapid growth planned by the current administration may make the problems even worse." And it adds, "While DOD constantly updates weapons, and plans for and procures the most modern and sophisticated ones available, it has antiquated computers and software systems and antiquated research laboratories. Its management organization and compensation systems are virtually unchanged from a generation, sometimes a century, before."

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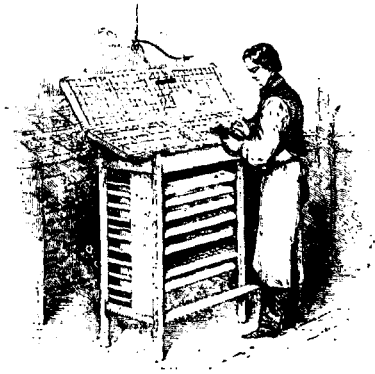

SHOP TALK

In August, this journal begins its 20th year of publication. To celebrate this fact somewhat prematurely, your editor is taking more time off than usual this summer. As a result the next two issues will be spread out more than usual. But have no fear, your subscription is based on issue number, not month, so you will receive the full number of issues you paid for.

◆◆◆

This month we welcome to our ranks Mike Bell, a professor at the University of Colorado who is unusually well informed about words and language. He'll be contributing a column on these matters.

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We are always happy to receive supporting subscriptions and you don't have to wait for your renewal notice. Just send in your contribution and we'll extend your subscription for another year.

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If you are involved in an progressive organization and would like to have us send you samples that you can distribute at your office, at meetings, or whatever, just drop us a card requesting that we add you to our sample list.

◆◆◆

Another note to progressive organizations: we want to hear from you --news releases, letters, reports, copies of testimony and so forth. Make sure we're on your mailing list.

◆◆◆

Sam

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R & D

dence to suggest that the development of a blue/green laser for submarine communications will yield such benefits. In FY 1984, 88% of military research and development funds went to development, while only 12% went to research (basic and applied). Moreover, the commitment to commercially useful research is increasingly taking a back seat to weapons development. Military R&D funds spent on the "technology base," the area with the greatest commercial application, grew only 34% from 1980 to 1984, while that for strategic (nuclear weapons) programs increased by over 350%.

In addition, military R&D is overwelmingly concentrated in the aerospace and electronic industries, contributing little to the rest of the economy. One-third of the DoD's R&D budget goes to the electronics industry, but only 2.4% of national income is generated by that sector. In 1983, the DoD spent more for R&D on the B-1 bomber than the total research budget of the entire U.S. steel industry.

TOPICS

Anyway, Coehlo and Rep. Charles Pashayan (the only Armenian in Congress) were not dismayed and, in fact, came up with evidence right from the mouth of Mustapha Kemal, better known as Ataturk, the founder of modern Turkey.

Writing in the Los Angeles Examiner on August 1, 1926, Kemal said that the Young Turk Party, the predecessor regime, "should have been made to account for the lives of millions of our Christian subjects who were ruthlessly driven en masse from their homes and massacred."

In other respects, Kemal does not sound like an especially tolerant fellow. He warns that "I shall not stop until every guilty person, no matter how high his rank, has been hung from the gallows as a grim warning to all incipient plotters against the security of the Turkish Republic." And he spoke of some enemies of his regime who, when they "showed a disposition to challenge the will of the republic, I crushed them with an iron hand, and, for example, had over sixty of their leaders hanged at dawn." Sounds like Reagan might have liked him almost as much as Ozal.

FILE

could cause "both sides in Geneva to actually reduce the number of weapons threatening mankind. By making missiles less effective, we make these weapons more negotiable."

There has been a suspicion among White House correspondents that Reagan is more likely to call upon reporters at his news conference who are wearing Nancy Reagan's favorite color: red. At a recent conference, several journalists wore either red dresses or red ties. Sure enough, Reagan called upon one of them, long-time UPI correspondent Helen Thomas, with these words: "I know that Nancy upstairs would die — she's watching on television — if I didn't call on you in that pretty red dress."

You have heard, no doubt, about the Defense Department paying $640 for a toilet seat. What you may not know is that in a another part of the administration, plans are afoot to build homes for Indians — without any

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bathrooms at all. You guessed it; just a matter of "budget constraints."

The Justice Department has asked 41 state, city and county governments to rewrite their affirmative action policies for at about 55 agencies. Said Omaha police chief Robert Wadman, "I wish they would mind their own business. It's unnecessary for the Justice Department to open old wounds." And the city attorney of Alexandria, La., commented, "If it works, don't fix it.

Reagan has said that the Nicaraguans were building "a war machine" that "dwarfs the forces of all their neighbors combined." This lie was neatly punctured by Joel Brinkley in the New York Times in a length piece that offered these statistics on Central American troop strength:

Nicaragua (armed forces and active militia) 60,000

El Salvador (armed forces, national guard, national and treasury police): 56,500.

Honduras (armed forces and public security forces): 26,500

Guatemala (Regular armed forces, treasury and national police): 51,000

Costa Rica (Civil and rural guards and civil militia): 19,500

The report also noted that Vice President Bush has said that Nicaragua has "over 150 tanks." According to Defense Department officials, Nicaragua has only 110 tanks, 25 to 30 years old. Further, much of the country is too hilly for tanks. And if they were going to be used against Honduras, the Nicaraguans would have to load them on flat bed trucks and take them up the Pan-American Highway where they would be easy targets for Honduras's two dozen jet fighters and bombers.

And speaking of planes, Reagan also told reporters in 1983 that Nicaragua had "fighter planes, bombers and so forth." In fact, the country has no jet fighters or bombers and no modern combat aircraft except for ten Soviet-built helicopter gunships.

WEATHER

The planned retirement of House Speaker "Tip" O'Neill could trigger a political fight involving two of the best-known names in American politics. Considering a run for the Massachusetts seat are Edward Kennedy, Junior, son of the senator, and James Roosevelt, Junior, FDR's grandson. Kennedy's biggest obstacle could be his age: house members must be at least 25, and his 25th birthday is just three months before the election in November, 1986.

The comparable worth movement is picking up steam in Europe.

The Wall Street Journal notes the concept of "equal pay for equal work" in Europe dates back to the start of the Common Market, but says it wasn't until last year, when a European court ordered Britain to live up to comparable worth goals, that the comparable worth settlements began appearing in earnest.

Unlike the situation in the U.S., many of the European settlements stem from union contracts, rather than individual or class-action suits, says the *Journal*. A national contract resulting from one such case is due to go into effect this month. Under the settlement, about 25,000 women collators and binders will get raises over the next three years, bringing them up to the pay levels of men who drive forklifts or assist on printing machines.

CITY DESK

easier to get than almost anywhere else. One reason for this is that DC does not use meters. Without meters there is no incentive for large companies to take over the cab business with the inevitable reduction in the number of cabs. It is simply too hard for the companies to monitor their drivers. As a result, DC's cab business is a rare example of the free enterprise system in operation. Further, with a zone system there is a strong incentive for cab drivers to take riders the most expeditious route. There are, to be sure, many problems with the existing system, but those that are related to the payment system could be largely corrected by redrawing the zones. Splitting Zone One in two would be a good place to start.

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DC's other example of a highly competitive and job-producing industry is the street vending business. As pointed out here before, the city has gone out of its way to make life hard on the vendors, most recently with ridiculous legislation that restricts the items that can be sold and requires that non-food vendors have expensive wooden carts. Now the vendors are striking back. Not only have two hundred of them joined the Service Employees International Union, but that union has filed suit against the city to prevent the enforcement of the new rules.

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The DC Superior Court now has a small claims mediation service and plans in the fall to initiate a domestic relations mediation service. According to one bar association official, other jurisdictions that have a small claims mediation service find that about 25% of the cases end up there. DC is running about 25,000 small claims cases a year. The thirty mediators were trained by the Center for Community Justice.

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Many readers will recall that not so long ago the Board of Elections provided a good deal of laughs and/or aggravation. Not any more. Under the directorship of Emmet Fremaux Jr., the management of elections has improved greatly. Another indication comes recently with word that the board is sending out non-forwardable postcards to all voters to make sure they are still at the same address. If the post office returns the cards, the board will send a forwardable notice to the voter warning them to reregister at the right address or be struck from the rolls. The board plans to do this canvas on an annual basis.

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The DC Coalition for Justice has been formed to fight plans to construct another prison for DC. The prison idea, being pushed by Senator Arlen Specter (who is running hard for re-election), could end up costing the city a lot of money even if the federal government funds the construction. According to the National Institute of Corrections, a $6.5 million "gift" for construction of only a 150-inmate prison will cost the city $1.9 million in annual operating costs. It costs about $15,000 a year to house a prisoner. The coalition can be contacted at 600 Pennsylvania Ave. SE #301, DC 20003

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• The Samaritans, a volunteer suicide prevention organization, have opened a Washington office at 719 8th St SE. Founded in England about thirty years ago, the Samaritans are now operating in 44 countries and have ten branches in the US. Although primarily concerned with those in immediate danger of taking their lives, they also help people in crisis or despair. To contact the Samaritans for help, call 546-6232. Volunteers are needed

Roses and Thorns

• Roses to Marjorie Hunt and Paul Wagner for winning an Oscar for their documentary on the stonecarvers at the National Cathedral.

• Thorns to the Barry administration for letting DC become the pothole capital of the nation. A national survey finds DC having 121 potholes per mile. Montana is in second place with 106 potholes per mile.

• Roses to DC police officer Amelia Scott for refusing to take a urinalysis test after a judge suggested she was under the influence of drugs while on the witness stand. She was held in civil contempt for refusing Judge Rufus King's order. In fact, Scott had been working overtime and had had only ten hours sleep in the three days before the trial. She was asleep in the witness room when called to testify. Her fellow officers have leaped to her defense and her attorney says of the fine, "she is not going to pay anything. There are enough officers who will put in money."

• Roses to DC Superior Court Judge Henry Greene for encouraging note-taking and the submission of written questions of witnesses by the jury. Montgomery County, among other jurisdictions, permits note-taking. And Greene says no state or federal jurisdiction specifically prohibits the practice of jury questions.

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and are given a training program. For information call Ellen Stark at 546-1544.

• Citizens Against Crime: An assessment of the neighborhood watch program by Jeffrey Henig. Copies can be obtained for $2.50 each from the Center for Washington Area Studies, School of Public and International Affairs, George Washington University, DC 20052.

• A review of crime novels set in Washington by Bernard Mergen is contained in the spring issue of Washington Works, obtainable from the Center for Washington Studies, George Washington University, DC 20052.

• Friendship House will hold its annual Market Day on May 5 on Seventh Street SE between Penna. Ave. and North Carolina Ave.

• The Commission on Judicial Disabiliy and Tenure is currently reviewing the qualifications of two judges who are seeking reappointment to the Superior Court bench: George Revercomb and Eugene Hamilton. Persons and organizations wishing to comment on the qualifications of these two judges can write the commission no later than June 10. The names of the persons submitting material will be kept confidential unless otherwise expressly authorized. Write the commission at Building A, Room 312, 515 Fifth St NW DC 20001.

• The American University Hotline, which has been operating since 1969, is open from six pm to two am every night. The hotline is student-run and provides crisis intervention and information for those in need. Call 885-TALK.

• WPFW has begun broadcasting programs of the Great Atlantic Radio Conspiracy on Mondays at 2 pm. GARC is an organization that produces radio programs geared to a variety of progressive interests. First programs in the series covered such subjects as rewriting the history of Vietnam, rape crisis centers and unemployment.

• The Network Connection, a national clearinghouse and support system for women in business has opened a branch office at 2520 Columbia Pike, Arlington, Va. Info: 685-1608

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STONE

Koppel: But you still support slavery as an institution?

Davis: Unequivocably! As I have said, it bears to capital as kind a relationship as can exist between them anywhere. The present arrangement is best for the two races. The Negro is an inferior being, nothing more than a grownup child, improvident, who, if free, would be a burden to society. Removed from the shelter of his master, he would languish and starve perhaps, even worse, relapse into total extinction.

Koppel: What about Mr. Scott's prediction of more violence, a possible war?

Davis: Absurd. But the South will fight to preserve its sacred institutions.

Koppel: Thank you, Mr. Davis. We've run out of time. This has been a special edition of "Nightline" on slavery. I'm Ted Koppel. Good evening.

Philadelphia Daily News

VETS

Finally, he got a cot at the shelter. Now he is facing six months in jail, but "at least I know I'll have a place to stay."

Jessie Mays hasn't walked the long road from Khe Sanh to a shelter alone. Homeless providers in major cities see vets every night—46 percent of the single men in this city's shelter system are veterans, the majority of them Vietnam vets.

Jail is the other side of the shelter system for many of them as it is for Jessie—about one in five inmates nationwide are vets, 90 percent of those from Vietnam.

"A third to a half of the homeless men in any given shelter on any given night in America are veterans," says Rick Weidman, government relations director for the Washington-based Vietnam Veterans of America. "It's a national shame."

Many, he says, followed a route like that of Jessie Mays. "The 1982 recession caught a lot of guys struggling on the middle class borderline. They lost their jobs first, then their homes. Then they had no fixed address. It's hard to break back into the job market when you're shaving in restrooms. They went down."

In California, a recent study found that during the '82 recession, Vietnam vets were unemployed an average of 31 weeks longer than non-vets—and those

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who saw combat were out of work 22 weeks longer than those who did not.

Generally, combat vets have fared much worse than other Vietnam-era soldiers. In California—which has more Vietnam-era vets than any other state—the median income of combat vets is $5,600, 40 percent lower than other vets. In New York City, a recent survey found that men who had seen heavy combat were unemployed at three times the rate of those who had minimal contact with enemy troops.

Ironically, the VA—which combat vets like Mays deeply distrust because they think it favors vets of more "honorable" wars—may bear some responsibility for the large number of pre-Vietnam era vets in the nation's shelters. Like civilian hospitals, the VA has sent its psychiatric patients out into the world, and the number of beds for disturbed vets has dropped 60 percent since the mid-1960s. In addition, those with honorable discharges are seen first, which makes admission especially difficult for those most likely to need care.

Weidman says "The VA is failing its congressional mandate to reach out to the homeless." He wants the agency to send assessment teams into shelters. "Right now, you have to die to get the VA's attention."

"We make every effort to inform veterans of their benefits," says VA spokesman Ozzie Garza. "Sometimes, we can't locate them at all—but it's not for lack of trying."

But Vincent Muscari, of New York State's Division of Veterans' Affairs, says "The VA is not a social service agency." Last year, his office screened 153 homeless vets, and found only 30 were eligible for VA benefits. Many had bad conduct discharges, or too little time in service, and 50 just disappeared back into the shelter system.

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LETTERS

ings testifying for rent control indicated that her and her husband's combined income was nearly $40,000 per year and controlled rent including some utilities about $650 per month (or $8,000 per year), a mere 20 percent of income. Many poor families in rent-controlled or nonrent-controlled housing pay considerably more than 20%; likely this $40,000 a year couple could likewise do so. If we are concerned about quality housing for the needy, Councilmember Betty Ann Kane's proposal to cap rents at 30% of income and allow housing providers to deduct the difference between the capped rent and the market rent from their property tax is the way to go. However, for the government to be generous with other people's money (i.e., housing providers') is socially irresponsible.

(6) Rent control will ultimately so destroy housing providers' incentives to keep up property that housing will deteriorate to a point where it is so shabby that only the poor will live in it, not out of choice, but out of having no other choice. At that point, D.C. will become a city of the rich (who can easily afford their own housing) and the poor in rent-controlled dilapidated buildings barely meeting code, if even that, in boarded-up neighborhoods. Since the suburbs have free market rents, D.C. becomes a mecca for the poor, thereby relieving the suburbs of their responsibility to shoulder their share of social services for poorer citizens. If the middle class flocks to the suburbs, while the poor come to D.C. for rent-controlled housing, the tax base on which rests our ability to provide for the poor is eroded and the social services we can provide are thereby limited.

Housing should *not* be treated like regulated industries like PEPCO or the taxicabs because no basis for such regulation exists. The utilities are regulated because they are natural monopolies and taxis are regulated because they compete with public transportation and use public roads. Moreover, regulation of utilities insures profits for the regulated companies and for taxicabs sets uniform rates which to date have not impaired profitability nor availability of adequate service. Apartments are neither natural monopolies nor inherent users of public space and therefore no basis for regulating them exists using utilities and taxis as justifications. However, if housing were regulated on the same basis as most other regulated industries, i.e., guaranteed profits, I am sure landlords could be persuaded to acquiesce into going along.

Dino Joseph Drudi
Brookland, DC

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